New Republic

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PALESTINE:

WAYS TO STOP THE FIGHTING

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

HAROLD STASSEN made only one mistake in his neat Ohio primary battle with Taft—he didn't enter a full slate of delegates.

By now it is obvious that if voters chose candidates, Stassen would get the GOP nomination. They don't, though. With the exception of Oregon, the primary season is about over for four years. This quadrennial phenomenon briefly illuminates how little say voters really have. By the time the plodding citizen begins asking why there aren't more primaries, the whole thing is in mothballs again. Less than a third of the nation's voters can participate even in the popularity-test type of primary which isn't binding on delegates.

Taft isn't going to let Stassen get the nomination if he can help it. His voice is weighty too. His popularity is big where it counts, among party bosses. Taft is honest, blunt, conservative. Asked in Ohio where he stood on UMT, he said, "I'm against it." Period. Asked the same question, as columnist Tom Stokes pointed out, Stassen made a qualified statement that put him on all sides of the question.

On the Democratic side, Truman's dismal slump is about due for what Wall Street reporters call a "technical reaction." Truman is getting ready for one last test of popularity. It is a cross-country barnstorming trip to show himself to the people. He will emphasize living costs—it's his big issue. His popularity line ought to go up a bit; it can't go lower.

Four gigantic American oil companies have staked out a fantastic American sphere of influence in Saudi Arabia. Old King Ibn Saud formerly financed his kingdom by takings from the Faithful making annual pilgrimages to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. The war stopped the pilgrimages and the king faced ruin. Enter Standard of California, the Texas Company, followed by Standard (N. J.), and Socony-Vacuum. They grabbed the oil rights, but even so they couldn't finance the king. So they got Uncle Sam to do it through lend-lease and other means. He put in $99.5 million of taxpayers' money, of which the Senate Defense Committee has estimated that $72 million is "probably non-recoverable."

When Nazi General Rommel was in Africa and there was danger that the king might cancel the concession or give it to the British, the oil companies made promises to sell oil at 40 cents a barrel to the American Navy. Now, says the 10-man Senate committee, they are charging $1.05 a barrel and plan to jump it in October to $1.80. They have overcharged the Navy from $30 to $38 million in five and a half years, the committee asserts, with no end in sight.

But that item is insignificant beside the real issue. A misstep by these companies in international imperialism might precipitate war. Sparks from Palestine are falling all over the inflammable Saudi oil fields. And the US Government—you and I—has no official say in the companies' policies at all.

In the 57-page report of the Brewster Senate committee last week the story is told of how Roosevelt, through Ickes, proposed to do the same thing for the US in Saudi Arabia. The oil companies fought government participation.

FDR's effort failed. So there you have it, folks. This story is a mixture of Teapot Dome, Anthony Hope and *The Arabian Nights*. America in a fit of absent-mindedness, has acquired a Near Eastern protectorate as big as Texas and Oklahoma. The public has the right to defend it, but not to participate in its control. And the man in the street doesn't really know what

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it's all about and couldn't find the Persian Gulf on the map. He may fight for it yet.

For 60 years a GOP overthrow of Democrats, or even a defeat of progressive Republicans, has meant a new high tariff.

Here's the record: Harrison beat Cleveland and approved the McKinley tariff in 1890. Conservative Taft followed Teddy Roosevelt and brought the Payne-Aldrich Act. Wilson reversed the process with the cuts of the Underwood Tariff, but then came Harding with the iniquitous Fordney-McCumber Act. No sooner was Hoover inaugurated than up went the Hawley-Smoot tariff wall; it brought retaliatory tariffs from 25 countries in two years, helped ruin Europe, and greased the ways for World War II.

Roosevelt, of course, slashed tariffs with the Hull reciprocal-trade agreements. They have lasted so long—since 1934—that most of us have forgotten what real tariff fighting is like. It's like the present butter-oleo row, only immeasurably more selfish and sordid.

What's the GOP record on the Hull trade law? With enactment and renewals, it has come before Congress five times, and on every occasion except the 1943 wartime renewal, the Republican Party in both the Senate and the House voted against it. Consider that fact when you next say, "It wouldn't be too bad under Vandenberg." GOP leaders plan to renew the act now for a year, to take it out of the election. Then in 1949 they can go to town on tariffs under a full Republican administration.

Notes: Chicago's Colonel McCormick refers to Stassen-Dewey-Vandenberg as "foreigners." . . . ECA Ambassador Averell Harriman regards East-West trade in Europe as essential; he will coöperate with Social Democrats and not fight industrial nationalization. . . . A big Truman declaration is in the works that any armed attack upon Western Europe will be treated as an attack upon the security of the US and means war.

Washington T. R. B.

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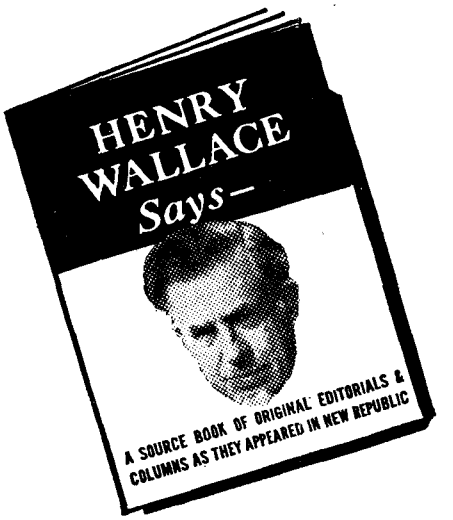

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VOLUME 118, NUMBER 19, ISSUE 1745, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 10, 1948 **New Republic**

EDITORIAL: THE PALESTINE WAR

THE INVASION of Palestine is close at hand. While Washington deliberates, London procrastinates and the UN hangs its head in shame, five Arab states—Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Transjordan—are preparing to defy the UN Charter and to invade the Holy Land.

"Death, bloodshed, murder, outrage and agony"—these have been the results wreaked upon the peoples of Palestine by our wretched policy of Partition without Enforcement, as Sir Carl Berendsen of New Zealand told the Special Assembly of the UN. Yet the fighting has barely begun. Small arms, only, have been used. Casualties have not been high. After May 15, Palestine may be leveled and its peoples slaughtered by mechanical warfare in which the tanks, armored cars, heavy guns, bombers and fighters of regular Arab forces are met with equal weapons now held in readiness by Haganah at a dozen Mediterranean ports.

If Haganah can hold the Arab armies until its own heavy arms arrive, a war of exhaustion may develop in Palestine. This is apparently the future envisioned by some British sources who see, as its end, Britain's mediation and the restoration of her shattered prestige in the Middle East, largely at the expense of the new society which the Jews of Palestine have created. The Truman Administration shares this view, prizing above all its friendship with the Arab rulers.

But in the war that is breaking, the future of Jewish social democracy, Arab feudalism, and even the rights and wrongs of the present conflict, are not the issue; the only issue, and one which directly affects each of us, is whether all peoples are to live under world law or to die under lynch law.

by Michael Straight

The UN is our one source of world law and our one hope for world peace. To partition Palestine was its decision. Whether it was wise or unwise, just or unjust, was from that moment on irrelevant. That decision is today a part of the world law that governs all of us. It is accepted by the Jews, defied by the Arabs, undermined by the government of the United States.

America weakened the force of world law in seeking to reverse the UN decision. Our government's proposal for trusteeship was so damaging to the UN that it has been impossible to win for it the necessary two-thirds majority. Yet as long as we hold to this policy, a two-thirds majority is impossible on any position. At a critical moment, the UN is paralyzed.

At this moment, Major General John Hilldring, a firm supporter of partition, has been appointed as assistant to the Secretary of State in charge of Palestine Affairs. Knowing General Hilldring, we are certain that he would not have accepted this appointment without full freedom to reverse the disastrous policies instigated by Loy Henderson and James Forrestal. Yet as he takes up his job, the State Department is whispering that Hilldring is powerless and that the policy of the United States will not change.

Quick action along these lines by General Hilldring can still prevent war in Palestine:

First, we must press hard for a real truce in Jerusalem. Jerusalem is all-important, both as the center of the world's religions, and because the necessity of bringing supplies to its Jewish community compels Jewish forces to invade Arab territory in the Judean Hills and below, in order to keep the road open to Tel Aviv and the coast. Three thousand troops—750 men each from Britain, America, France and the USSR—can enforce the truce in Jerusalem. These forces can be in Jerusalem within two weeks and can make Jerusalem a model for a nationwide truce.

Second, we must make it clear that an invasion of Palestine is an act of aggression which will be punished. The Security Council can declare that action under Chapter Seven of the UN Charter will include economic sanctions and, if necessary, force, in order, in the words of the Charter, to "restore international peace and security." Today, assurance that this action will be taken can prevent invasion. If America and the UN wait, then no words of ours will be taken seriously by the Arab states: action will come too late.

Third, we should recognize the Jewish state that will be proclaimed on May 15, forbidding it to invade or occupy Arab territory, but permitting it to buy arms until it possesses the means of self-defense.

Realizing that this session of the Assembly has been a farce, our government is attempting to suppress the Jewish state, and forbid political action by all Jews while a decision is postponed until next autumn. But the fighting will not be postponed. It will follow our government's terrible irresolution.

"Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve." It took a New Zealander at the UN to remind America of the words of our own Benjamin Franklin. They never rang so true.

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THE WEEK

WHAT THE FAMILY NEEDS

A National Conference on Family Life is being held in Washington this month to seek answers to the question, what does the family need? We can supply that information without even leaving our chair.

The young folks need a chance for a home of their own, so that they can stop living doubled up with the old folks. The family needs lower prices for food, with the hope that meat can get back on the table oftener than once or twice a week. It needs $2 shirts for $2.

It would like to have politicians stop calling each other such gruesome names that you wince as you pick up the morning paper. It needs some sort of assurance that the statesmen who are running the country have some faint idea of what they are doing, and what is likely to happen. And most of all, the family wants at least a glimmer of hope that the future can be one of peace and security.

BLOW TO MONOPOLIES

Government experts hailed the decision of the Supreme Court, upholding the Federal Trade Commission against the Cement Institute, as the greatest single aid to anti-trust prosecutions in the court's history. The decision centered around the question of prices set under the multiple-basing-point system. This system has resulted in uniform prices throughout the country, regardless of possible advantages based on lower transportation costs to one point than to another.

Belief was expressed that the decision might result in lower prices for housing and a consequent encouragement to the building industry.

The court, reversing a verdict of the US Circuit Court of Appeals, has upheld the power of the FTC to decide what is "unfair competition." The case was not merely one against price fixing, since the FTC contention, upheld by the court, was that the system employed itself was a violation of federal law.

Far-reaching economic consequences may follow the Supreme Court's action. Independent producers may now spring up in various parts of the country, selling at competitive prices, although the present shortage of supplies of all kinds will retard this development. At any rate, the FTC has received enormous help in its task of *fighting the trend to monopoly*. The men who worked for 11 years on the government's suit against 74 cement companies say that the decision will strengthen their hand enormously, as much so as though they had been asked to write it themselves.

Busy Voters

IN DUVAL COUNTY, Florida, it took blood, sweat, tears and then some to cast a ballot in the election this week. With 237 candidates running for 54 public and party offices, it was generally conceded that a voter would have to be a quiz kid to read all the names and pull the right levers in five minutes, the maximum time allowed in the balloting booth.

But what baffled Duval natives even more is the fact that with the county's 335 voting machines working a full 12-hour day, fewer than 50,000 people would be able to mark their ballots. Election officials estimated that more than 80,000 Duvalians had registered.

FIRSTER IN OKLAHOMA

OKLAHOMA CITY (NR correspondent)

Gerald L. K. Smith, father of the America Firsters, has set up new headquarters in this oil-rich, race-conscious state for a campaign against "anyone who has dabbled in the New Deal"—including some 240 candidates for Congress this year. His first goal is to keep off the ballot the Progressive Party, supporting Henry Wallace. He says the original petition for organization of the party was a "criminal act." And he recently joined with a number of other groups to file an official petition against legal recognition of the party.

On the other hand, the party is fighting Smith and its other enemies in a case now before the State Supreme Court. The goals are to force the election board to accept and place on primary ballots the names of electoral candidates; and compel the authorities to recognize Progressive Party voters who shift their registration from the old parties.

DARK HORSE DAYS

With the presidential nomination only six weeks away and 711 of the 1,094 convention delegates chosen, the Republican National Convention is still wide open.

Allowing both for delegates definitely pledged and those whose allegiance is reasonably certain, Governor Dewey and Harold Stassen stand almost neck and neck in first-ballot strength, with about 300 each. Senator Taft is running third, with something like 250. But as of today none of the three seems likely to have the 548 delegates required for nomination.

If Stassen makes the strong showing his supporters predict in the Ohio, Oregon and West Virginia primaries, he might conceivably start a bandwagon rush that could sweep him in on the first round. But backers of favorite-son candidates like Senator Arthur Vandenberg, Governor Earl Warren and Speaker Joe Martin point out that primary results have not usually controlled Republican conventions.

The result of the Pennsylvania presidential write-in contest has encouraged the Stassen forces. Little attention had

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been paid to this popularity contest, a regular feature of presidential years, until the state Republican organization got wind of the Stassen campaign. Governor James Duff and the GOP regulars had planned to pledge their votes to Senator Martin for one round, then spot the winner and join his train. But a group of wealthy young Republicans upset their scheme.

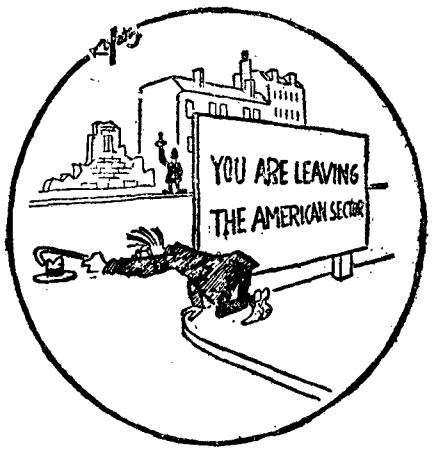
Shortly before the primary, young H. J. Heinz (57 varieties) and Jim Rae (vice-president of Oliver Iron and Steel Corporation) persuaded other wealthy Pittsburghers to help make up a very fat fund with which to pay for a whirlwind drive for Stassen write-ins. The old-line party organization countered by a hasty drive of its own for Senator Martin. They succeeded in only a few places, notably Philadelphia and Wilkes-Barre. Stassen's efficient businessmen made the professional politicians look like amateurs.

But with all his efficiency, Stassen is still scarcely more than halfway toward victory at the convention. Dewey and Taft have not yet squarely faced the fact of their own declining fortunes and begun a determined 'Stop Stassen" drive. The Warrens, Vandenbergs and Joe Martins, however, firmly believe that they will get around to this very soon.

DEFENSE DILEMMA

The spectacle of Defense Secretary Forrestal championing a limit on military appropriations has given a comic touch to congressional confusion over defense matters.

Forrestal, whose armed services already have received $11 billion and are asking another $3,481 million, began warning against inflation only when the Senate showed signs of intending to approve *all* the proposals the military men have been plugging —Selective Service *and* UMT *and* a 70-group air force *and* an expanded National Guard and various other items. Apparently this was more than the military anticipated or could handle in one year.



FROM THE BERLIN WEEKLY "SIE"

COMMENT ON BERLIN

Trying to explain away the obvious dissension among his three Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary sought to convince the Senate Armed Services Committee the new $3,481 million supplemental program was the only way of preventing new strains on "our drum-tight economy." He implied he had President Truman's support. The same argument was used on the Joint Chiefs to convince them they must not press now for the expanded $9 billion defense program they prefer. Such expansion would mean a total of $20 billion for the military, half the national budget.

The House, in going all out for a 70-group air force, had approved $822 million more for new aircraft. Then Representative Walter Andrews (R, N. Y.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, announced that UMT would be shelved for this session and a selective-service bill passed. This may be what the Pentagon really wants, but Forrestal had told the Senate committee that he was still strongly in favor of UMT.

At the suggestion of Senator Raymond E. Baldwin (R, Conn.), the Defense Department restated its desires in a new bill merging Selective Service and UMT proposals. It provides one year of service for 18-year-olds in regular military units. Selective Service for non-veterans from 19 and a half to 25 would go on at the same time. But when Andrews heard about the bill he heaped scorn on it and went ahead with plans to get the House to pass his own Selective Service measure without UMT.

With the two branches of Congress in conflict, with his Joint Chiefs pressing separate service demands, and with the White House crying economy, Forrestal is on the spot.

DUST BOWL DAMAGE

AMARILLO, TEXAS (NR correspondent)

Dr. H. H. Finnell, the US Soil Conservation Service's Great Plains research specialist, reports a survey which refutes optimistic Westerners in search of wheat profits who insist that, after all, the dust bowl did no permanent harm.

Visiting 93 farms where the exact amount of erosion during the "dust bowl" days of the thirties had been precisely recorded, Dr. Finnell's researchers established 1947 wheat yields as follows, for fields that have been "fallowed," or rested in alternate years:

Where they had previously suffered little or no erosion, 45 bushels per acre; where erosion was moderately severe, 33 bushels; where it had been very severe, with permanent loss of topsoil, 26.2 bushels.

On fields cropped yearly, corresponding yields were 29, 27.2 and 17.6 bushels.

Simultaneously a survey by the Great Plains Agricultural Council showed that 10.3 million acres of the Great Plains are "in condition to blow, given drought and high winds"—but it added reassuringly that only four million are so unstable that their condition is truly hazardous.

ROSIE IS BACK

Rosie the Riveter is back in the news.

It was expected that when war industries shut down, the women who, in a burst of patriotism or for other reasons, had donned overalls and welding helmets, would wend their ways back to their household chores. But last week, when Commissioner Ewan Clague of the Bureau of Labor Statistics reported that employment would

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top 60 million this summer, he also noted that more than 17 million women are now at work, three million more than in 1940, 800,000 more than a year ago.

Actually, since March, 1947, the male employment rate has remained almost constant. The increasing use of women workers has accounted for practically all of the increase in employment.

Trend-tracers can't make up their minds about the broader implications of this boom in women at work. Undoubtedly, the millions of pairs of nimble hands which they add to the tight labor force are welcome. Among firms surveyed by the National Industrial Conference Board, 25 percent used to discharge women employees who got married, but today, only five percent follow this hard-hearted practice. Some observers see in these statistics signs of a greater emancipation.

But others are far from happy about the fact that nearly half of the working women are married, and half are more than 35 years old. In New York State, 1.35 million women leave children under six at home when they go to work.

Most disturbing of all is the most obvious fact. It is clear that the majority of the women workers want neither careers nor emancipation. They need their wages to supplement family incomes pinched by the inflation. The Department of Labor reports that 84 of every 100 working women hold jobs because of urgent financial necessity. Some idea of what they are up against was provided by a recent New York State survey which showed that to support herself, a working girl has to earn $38.27 a week. Only when she makes more than that can Rosie contribute substantially to the family budget.

SIX MONTHS OF T-H

Has the six-month-old Taft-Hartley Act reduced strikes, held wages down, improved labor-management relations? Members of the Joint Committee set up in the law itself to report its operations after six months do not agree on the answers.

The GOP majority, headed by Senator Joseph H. Ball (R, Minn.), has issued a 198-page report saying the act needs no changes whatsoever and that strikes have declined while wages have gone up.

A minority of four Democrats reports exactly the opposite. It finds the majority report "partisan in its approach and misleading in its findings." Man-hours lost through strikes have increased, the minority declares, adding that high profits and admonitions from the NAM to go easy have deterred business from taking the aggressive against labor.

For their part, unions are preoccupied with going through the preliminary stages of certification and registration under the act. Cases before the NLRB have risen from 3,933 to 9,500, the largest total in its history.

The minority report observes that the T-H Act had so stiffened management's resistance that wages are falling behind the cost of living. Thus is repeated the pattern after the First World War, when labor's inability to buy played a large part in leading to the 1929 crash.

THE BAD BALL BILL

The Republican Party, pledged by its 1944 platform to strengthen the wage-hour provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, finally picked for the job Senator Joseph H. Ball (R, Minn.), who has one of the most consistent anti-labor records in Congress.

Ball's bill, which is expected to reach the floor soon with little change, would raise the present minimum wage of 40 cents an hour to a sliding scale of 50 to 70 cents. Except for recognition that 40 cents is now totally inadequate, the bill is completely bad.

The sliding scale, which would be regional, would cause "runaway shops," that is, transfers of industry to areas with lower wages. The scope of the bill would be made even narrower than at present, with the result that probably more than a million workers who are now covered would lose the protection of the law. The bill would alter the definition of "interstate commerce" to exclude retail establishments, food-processing plants, seamen and others in particular need of protection.

Legalistic and complicated, it would create chaos in the efforts of management, labor and the government to work out a clear policy on payments for overtime work.

The CIO minimum-wage committee, headed by Jacob Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, prefers a bill introduced by Senator Elbert D. Thomas (D, Utah) and Representative John W. McCormack (R, Mass.). This bill would raise the minimum wage to a flat nationwide figure of 75 cents an hour and would broaden the coverage. But Thomas and McCormack happen to belong to the party which does not control the present Congress.

Arabian Adventure

THE BREWSTER COMMITTEE'S investigation of the machinations of American oil companies in Saudi Arabia has made some extremely serious charges.

The US Navy, the committee says, was overcharged more than $30 million for oil during the war, the Navy itself sharing the blame because of its failure to demand and get accurate production-cost figures. Many oil-company officials at the time held key Navy and other governmental positions responsible for oil matters.

The Brewster committee also reported on how thoroughly the oil companies had been able to get the US to underwrite their Arabian adventure by lend-lease and loans to King Ibn Saud. Taxpayers' money, the committee says, has been used to make tax-free profits for private enterprises. By their presence in the Middle East, those enterprises commit the US to a policy over which it has, in the end, no direct control.

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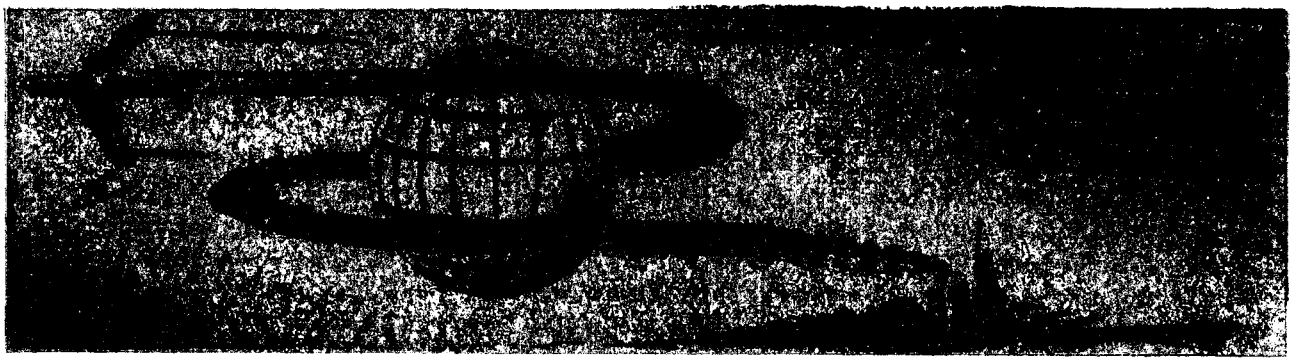

CONGRESS CHOOSES AIR POWER

by William Walton

SHOULD AMERICA'S armed strength be based on air power? James Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, says *No.*

The House of Representatives and the Senate Military Affairs Committee say *Yes,* and they are right. Forrestal's resignation is certainly in order. At the same time Congress is creating in air power a weapon so swift in execution that our democratic processes must achieve new alertness to keep it in check.

The fact that Congress, rather than the Joint Chiefs of Staff, made the decision is as indicative of changing ideas as are the new strategic concepts involved in dependence on air power. Governmental debates, hearings and announcements have so far been a tangle of conflicting statistics and wavering principles. As usual, part of the confusion can be blamed on the White House. The President's Air Policy (Finletter) Commission recommended creation of a 70-group air force, the program suggested by those who believe major defense emphasis should be placed on air power. The President seemed to support such a policy until his Navy-steeped Defense Secretary, James Forrestal, and Admiral William D. Leahy went to work on him.

For all the ostensible unification that has taken place, the service chiefs have never achieved a sincere, complete agreement. The Navy, from the first a bitter opponent of unification, won out at Key West over Air Force General Carl Spaatz chiefly because of numerical preponderance. The Navy chief, Admiral Louis E. Denfeld, could count on both the Defense Secretary and the President's Chief of Staff, Admiral Leahy, to back him.

But the Navy had reckoned without the changes which have occurred in congressional thinking in the last few years. The House Military Affairs Committee had heard too many of the arguments. With a little congressional prodding, both General Spaatz and Air Secretary W. Stuart Symington acknowledged what everybody knew—that they still believe a 70-group air force to be a necessity for present-day defense of the US. When the matter reached the floor of the House, the vote in favor was 343 to 3, to the consternation of Forrestal and the admirals whose once powerful congressional bloc had deserted to the Air Force.

The congressional attitude, remarkable in the face of disunity among the Joint Chiefs, could be credited to a variety of reasons. First, undoubtedly, was the hope that authorizing a big air force would remove the immediate necessity of voting Selective Service or UMT, both explosive election-year issues. This practical factor was backed up by the indoctrination in air-mindedness that Congress has been given by its own Air Policy Commission, by the articulate Air Force lobby, and, of course, by the aircraft manufacturers.

Another factor was the slackening of lobbying activities by some of the old-line Navy boys. In their salad days, Navy lobbyists got heavy support from the big steel companies which stood to profit from a big Navy. But nowadays the steel industry is operating at 97 percent of capacity, and allocation of more steel to shipbuilding would only increase present shortages.

The Navy's whole case has been weakened by the fact that its new strategy is also based on air power. In the words of the Finletter report, "The carrier has become the major ship—the battleship now is of only secondary importance." So, such a moss-grown Big-Navy man as Representative Carl Vinson (D, Ga.) turned out to be the key figure in convincing such a penny-pinching skeptic as John Taber (R, N. Y.) that a big air force was a good thing.

All rearmament is dangerous since it creates a war psychosis. Yet the decision to rearm has clearly been taken. In the absence of any world settlement, in the presence of Soviet land and air forces many times our own in size, most liberals accept the necessity of increasing our forces. They insist that our armed force be realistic, subordinate to an active peace policy and maintained with a minimum of militarization in our lives.

Air power is the armed power which involves the least militarization and so is supported by liberals who oppose UMT. Yet with or without air power, air warfare creates new problems. No longer can the liberals argue that the

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nation's defenses should be limited to shooting down enemy planes over our skies, or repelling enemy forces from our shores. America's air defense starts at the farthest rims of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans—the Azores, Britain, Iceland, Greenland, the Aleutians, Okinawa and the Philippines. The possession by our enemies of these air bases, as Generals Spaatz and Bradley have argued, would permit devastating bombing raids on all our cities. Our air interception must start at these bases if attack is to be stopped.

All armed force today is offensive. Our battleships lying off Naples are offensive; so is a five-million conscript army designed to fight overseas. Air power strikes further and faster, and so increases the height of world tension and the necessity of world unity. Once Herbert Hoover tried to call fighters defensive, bombers offensive. Now the Finletter report sees a counter-offensive bombing force, stationed in other lands, as our one means of defense. The only dividing line drawn in the Finletter report as to defense is in the size of our force: "We cannot," it says, "support in peace a force capable of dominating the enemy's mainland. . . . That would require a nation . . . dedicated to war. . . . We must have . . . a reasonably strong defensive establishment to minimize the enemy's blow, but above all a counter-offensive air force in being [with] which . . . if an aggressor does attack, we will be able to retaliate with the utmost violence . . . [and] divert the destruction from our homeland to his."

Can this diversion in itself win the next war? In World War II, US bombers learned, by a process of trial and error in target selection, that an enemy can be sorely pressed, even vanquished, within certain areas, by the correct use of air weapons. The Luftwaffe, for instance, was driven from the European skies, not by bombing aircraft factories or ball-bearing plants, but by our knocking out the synthetic-fuel plants on which German planes depended. If the war had stalemated, the same technique would have been tried against production of the weapons necessary to land forces. Then a decision might have been reached on whether air power has the capacity to paralyze a nation's ability to resist. This is the primary objective because on it depends a nation's *will* to resist.

Today the importance of air power is still unknown. The Finletter report believes that the 55-group air force proposed by Forrestal would last a few weeks at the most. It recommended 70 groups, not as a decisive weapon in war but as the only means of having any air force at all during the 12 to 18 months of mobilization needed to bring America's capacity to produce more planes into being. The increase from 55 to 70 groups raises our strength far more than the figures indicate. It increases the number of heavy bombers, for example, from 480 to 720.

Fulfilment of the 70-group program would mean that the Air Force has inherited the dominant military role traditionally accorded the Navy. But the seaways and the landways would continue to fulfil vital functions. Airplanes still cannot supply themselves with the giant cargoes of fuel and bombs they require. The Navy must transport both men and supplies to distant bases. The Army must provide manpower to capture and occupy territory.

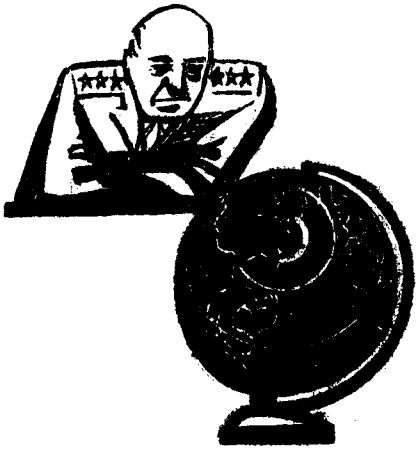
The men in Congress who have agreed to this thesis may have made the right choice historically, but they have not done much to reduce the political pressure on them in connection with Selective Service and UMT. An expanded air force will need nearly 100,000 more men before 1950, and to support such a force, the Army will need 125,000 men in addition to the 240,000 increase it is now asking. The problems of Selective Service and UMT have not been decided so easily.

Neither has a thorough analysis been made of the effect such a great plane-building program will have on the US economy. No one has computed the amount of aluminum, of scarce metals, rubber and other supplies necessary to achieve the Air Force's 1952 goal. Congress has not yet faced the necessity for domestic controls and allocations to make such a program feasible without disrupting the domestic economy.

Nor is there any clear concept of how our arms are to be used for peace. Some air-force extremists argue today that air power can bring a cheap victory in a future war. Their theory fits in closely with the theories of George F. Kennan and other State Department officials who argue that the Soviet state is a hollow shell, ready to be broken by the first hard blow. Both theories, of course, are terribly wrong. To reject them, as all liberals must, is not to reject an air force.

Yet Congress in choosing air power, has taken on the responsibility to see that such enthusiasts never get unbridled use of the great weapon that is being created. If it had the wisdom, it could remember what happened when the Japanese Diet let its militarists get control of the nation's power resources—one day the Diet wakened to a "counter-offensive" blow by a "force in being" against Pearl Harbor. In creating the new air force, Congress has the duty of guarding its use forever.

And, more than ever, the people have the responsibility to turn their attention from armed power to political power; from the nature of our armaments to the nature of the government that will control the arms. No amount of arms can bring peace. And it will take a better Congress than this to use the arms America must have in order to win peace.



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HENRY WALLACE'S COLUMN

The Hushed-up Iranian Agreement

SECRETARY OF DEFENSE James Forrestal called representatives of press and radio to Washington recently to propose imposition of censorship on news which might affect "national security." The publishers and radio magnates replied firmly: "We do not believe that any type of censorship in peacetime is workable or desirable in the public interest."

Both the Administration and most of the press, however, have found it "workable and desirable" to keep the American people ignorant of one of the most dangerous steps taken by their government since the war's end. I refer to the attempts to suppress news about the signing of a far-reaching military agreement by the United States and Iran, October 6, 1947. Even after I had exposed the existence and nature of this agreement in speeches at New Haven and Chicago, April 3 and 10, the almost complete conspiracy of silence continued.

Iran, 9,000 miles from New York, lies at the doorstep of the Soviet Union, close to Baku oil. Long before the present agreement was arrived at, the dangers in such a move were ably pointed out by Walter Lippmann, who said, in *US War Aims*, 1944:

"No one questions our alliances with Canada and Mexico. But if Mexico made an alliance with the Soviet Union, everyone would know at once that the peace was troubled. If we made an alliance with Iran or with Rumania, all the world would have every right to think the worst of our intentions."

The 1947 agreement provides for practically unlimited powers of intervention in Iranian military affairs by a US military mission of undesignated size. In effect, it turns over Iran's entire military establishment to the US Army, transforming that politically and economically weak country into an American dependency.

The agreement is probably even more dangerous than our intervention in Greece. The 1921 Soviet-Iran Treaty entitles Soviet troops to occupy all of Iran if Moscow deems developments there to be a threat to Soviet security. The transformation of Iran into a military protectorate of the US might conceivably be so construed by Moscow. Yet this dangerous step was taken without the knowledge of the American or the Iranian people.

Americans first heard about this agreement in December, almost three months after it was signed, and then only because the UN Charter requires the filing with the organization of agreements among member states. It was filed without the normal publicity, and even yet, the UN's requirements for publication have not been met. However, some of its details were printed in the New York *Herald Tribune* of December 23, 1947.

Thereafter, charges and countercharges about the agreement were hurled back and forth between Moscow and Teheran. George V. Allen, American Ambassador in Iran, and even the State Department, interjected comments and denials, freely denying Soviet charges but saying nothing about the agreement itself. Privately, I am informed, American correspondents were advised by the State Department to play it down. Foreign correspondents at the UN, however, cabled the *Herald Tribune* story abroad, and the people of Iran heard about it through foreign radio broadcasts. On December 27, the alarmed Iranian War Minister denied the existence of the agreement! A new wave of terror has been launched in Iran against those who are demanding the publication of its text in that country.

In February, the State Department at last published the text of the agreement in its treaty series, but given this routine treatment, it was ignored by the press. When I spoke of the agreement and of the efforts to hush it up, on April 3, the press, as I have said, ignored my remarks. It also ignored a denial, made immediately after my talk by George Allen.

Allen insisted that the agreement was public property, explaining the silence of the press by declaring "there was no news in it"—this, of a document which is the heart of one of the most important diplomatic controversies in the world today. He said it had been "made public" by the UN, which anyone who has inquired at the UN knows to be false. He said further, "The agreement was merely an extension of one made in 1943." This earlier agreement, however, provided for a mission limited in numbers and confined to administrative matters.

Allen has since denied that he ever made the foregoing statement. But this denial is absurd; I have before me the full text of the International News Service story of which the preceding paragraph is an accurate summary.

News from Iran establishes the real motive for the efforts to suppress the facts about the agreement. This motive is the fear that publication of the terms, in Iran, will lead to its repudiation, much as the Anglo-Iraq military treaty was repudiated early this year.

The agreement is itself disturbing enough; but equally disturbing is the effort to keep the facts about it from getting the attention they deserve from the American press and public. We may well wonder what other reckless adventures in American diplomacy are being planned—and concealed—by the State Department on the ground that they "might affect" our security.

Henry A Wallace

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LABOR TAKES A BEATING

US Steel and the "Big Four" packers spearhead the big push on industrial unions; so far, Big Business is winning the battles

by Jan Hasbrouck

INDUSTRIAL TRADE UNIONISM in the United States is slowly being choked to death.

The strangulation process has been going on for nearly a year. But it has received so little publicity that the general public, and in fact many union members, may not realize what is happening. Here are a few facts, generally soft-pedaled by the press, which may help bring the public up to date:

¶ The Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers (CIO) was bled white by a series of long strikes last year. Those strikes won the union nothing.

¶ The American Communications Association has returned to work after an unsuccessful three-month strike against International Telephone and Telegraph. The union got no increase in wages, still has no contract.

¶ The United Steelworkers (CIO) spent $300,000 on a 26-week strike against Consolidated Vultee's Nashville, Tennessee, plant. All they got was bloody heads from the local cops.

¶ A 12-week strike against Government Services, Inc., a concessionaire operating cafeterias and other services in government buildings in Washington, D. C., gained the workers nothing.

¶ The Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers of America (CIO), which won a substandard contract from Reynolds Tobacco Company last year after a bitter strike, has been told that the company will not deal with it when the contract expires this spring.

¶ In the South, textile workers have lost strike after strike. Most of the big firms have several plants, and as soon as one is organized, they close it and transfer production elsewhere. As a result of frequent reverses union membership has fallen, until today only

125,000 out of 625,000 workers are organized. Four Alabama locals recently went out of existence.

These are the more conspicuous milestones. But every CIO shop steward in the land will confirm the fact that it is becoming increasingly difficult to settle grievances, that little matters which used to be ironed out quickly on a low level are now being fought to the bitter end through all the procedures available. Local judges and police, always astute bandwagon riders, are right on the end of the bosses' telephones. Thirty-two states have little Taft-Hartley Acts, many of them stiffer than the original, and injunctions are a dime a dozen.

All this has been in the nature of a preliminary to the main battle, which was joined this spring when US Steel shaved prices slightly and then announced that it was granting no more wage increases.

The reason behind Big Steel's move is not difficult to trace. Since the death of the OPA, neither US Steel nor most of its competitors bothered much about fighting wage increases—heavy public demand for goods made it possible to pass on increased costs in higher prices. Instead, steel concentrated its efforts on an expensive campaign to convince the public that rising costs were due to rising wages.

But now the public's ability to absorb higher prices has reached the saturation point, and heavy consumer resistance is mounting. In the face of an alarming decline in mass purchasing power, Big Steel and the NAM fraternity have decided it is time to hold the line at the present advantageous spread between costs and profits. Their stand has the hearty encouragement of newspapers and radio, both of which have benefited heavily from industry's advertising and propaganda campaigns against the unions.

The United Steelworkers lost their battle before it began, because they had agreed to a no-strike clause in their contract last year. Their case is particularly infuriating because Big Steel's trifling reduction in prices comes on top of a record profit statement ($127 million for 1947). The ballyhooed price cuts also came within a few weeks of other increases which will offset the cuts several times over. It is serious loss of face for the steelworkers and CIO President Philip Murray.

A second crucial engagement is the strike of the United Packinghouse Workers against the Big Four of the meat trust, Armour, Swift, Cudahy and Wilson. The union has based its demands on the National Bureau of Labor Statistics index of a minimum American standard of living, and a Taft-Hartley presidential fact-finding board has ruled that this is a reasonable contention. Such a concept is anathema to industry, and every resource of the Big Four is being thrown into this decisive test case.

Phony back-to-work movements are being planted by press and radio. Foremen are making door-to-door canvasses cajoling and threatening workers, and violence on the picket lines is breaking out more frequently, with coöperative police getting rougher and rougher. Unless the whole US labor movement pitches in, the UPW will go under in a few weeks. A key bastion will have been lost by all American workers.

The giant automobile industry is next. General Motors has already instituted what amounts to a lock-out.

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Its pretext for laying off some 200,000 workers is a "shortage" of steel due to the coal strike. Actually steel production fell very little during the coal strike and was nearly back to normal when the GM decision was announced. The auto workers' contract runs out this month. The lay-off is a transparent move to strengthen the company's bargaining position in current contract negotiations. Simultaneously, Chrysler withdrew a six-cent-an-hour wage offer.

Westinghouse is taking US Steel's lead; it is preparing for a showdown with the militant United Electrical Workers. The coal industry, dominated by Big Steel, also appears headed for another fight when the UMW contract expires June 30. The maritime workers' contracts run out this summer; a nationwide struggle is virtually sure in that industry.

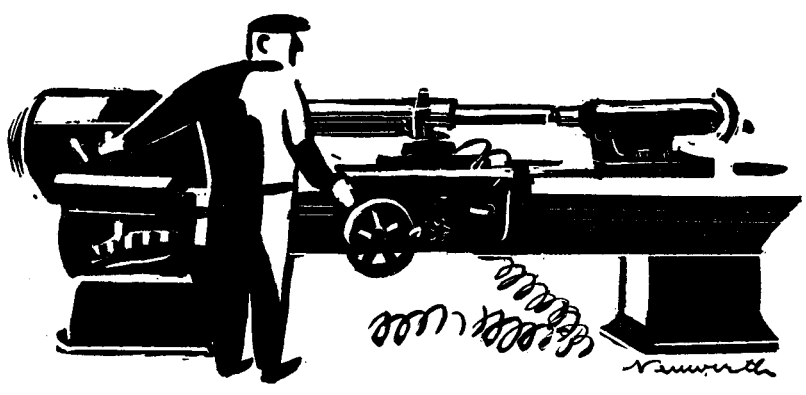
These impending collisions are likely to result in defeat for the unions. President Gwylym Price of Westinghouse is effectively publicizing the canard that the UEW wage demands will "start the price spiral upward once again." Lewis' miners have no-strike injunctions hanging over their heads. And unemployment in the maritime industry has seriously undermined the bargaining position of the seafaring unions.

Most CIO unions will make demands based on the BLS budget, plus welfare funds and pensions. Any one of them would grab a 12.5 to 15-cent settlement. Offers will run from a token two or three cents to a top of nine cents. Differences will be irreconcilable and the "labor peace" Taft-Hartley Act will see the greatest labor unrest in years. The AFL craft unions, fragmented into thousands of small locals dealing with small businessmen on a local basis, will not at first feel the full force of industry's drive. But once the big unions are taken, the outposts can be quickly mopped up.

Walter Reuther and other prominent labor leaders are on record as saying that a reduction in the cost of living is a satisfactory substitute for increased wages. As a basic economic doctrine this is undoubtedly sound. But it must be kept in mind that the cost of living has increased by some seven percent since the last general wage increases in the spring and summer of 1947. For the US Steel formula to make any sense, wages should be brought into line *and then* the price line held. The cost of living is still rising, even if slowly, and most economists agree that the best hope is for a leveling off.

But the plateau we are already on leaves the purchasing power of a great bloc of the people too low and profits too high. Major union publications have conclusively demonstrated that a substantial general increase could be given with no general advance in prices. But that is not the plan. Industry's idea is to freeze the present pleasant imbalance, and if it cannot be done, labor demands will be blamed.

Contracts covering three-quarters of all CIO members end on or before June 30, and the NAM line is clear and hard. The compulsion to avoid strikes so as not to interrupt the golden avalanche of profits is wearing off. Most big firms salted away heavy reserves in 1947—reserves which could



cushion operational losses caused by strikes. And profits are running at such an exorbitant rate that loss of business for a few weeks will still leave as big a 1948 take as industry dares to pocket. And besides, the stakes are so high that industry is ready to gamble heavily.

For all this the Taft-Hartley Act is not entirely to blame. It, too, is a result, not a cause. A result of what? Simply a belief throughout management that the New Deal is dead and the pendulum is swinging to the Right. The Red hysteria, the crop of local anti-labor laws and the barrage of "American-way" advertising in press and radio are symptomatic of big business' feeling that the lines are drawn, at home and abroad, and now is the time to put on the heat.

In setting up its strategy for a full-scale attack on the unions in 1949, business is counting on a Republican in the White House and a GOP steamroller in Congress. Even more important in this operational plan are the 43 state-legislature elections and the 34 gubernatorial contests which will also be decided this fall. With "understanding" men in Washington, and plenty of friendly Governors around to lend a hand, business will be in an excellent position to finish the job it has so auspiciously begun.

In the next few years two generations of labor progress may well go down the drain.

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A BASIS FOR EUROPEAN UNITY

100 British Conservative and Labor MP's recently resolved that Europe should unite to co-ordinate its economic and defense needs **by Kingsley Martin**

DEMOCRATIC Western Europe faces two great needs. The first is economic rehabilitation, an impossibility unless the Western European nations abandon their economic and political particularism. The second need is to avoid communism.

To the east, behind the Iron Curtain, lies a Soviet Union which considers that wars and revolutions are inevitable until the class struggle is ended. For that reason it has never abandoned the idea of world revolution, although its tactics have varied, according to circumstances, between active encouragement of revolutionary action and cooperation with capitalist states in the hope of avoiding a war for which the USSR is ill-prepared.

Across the Atlantic to the west lies the United States. American policy at present is an echo of many discordant voices. Clearest of all these, and most likely to carry through the elections in November, is the voice of American big business. To a European Socialist, its viewpoint appears to be that America is in a position to dominate the world; the twentieth century is to be the American century, dominated by American finance and airplanes, just as the nineteenth century was dominated by the British navy and the power of the pound sterling.

Caught in the middle is Western Europe, still containing some 200 million people and an industrial potential as great as that of the United States. Economic rehabilitation, the first great need of Western Europeans, has been given new impetus by the final passage of the Marshall Plan. Avoidance of communism, the second need, has received a boost from the Italian election returns, but the struggle is a continuing one.

Kingsley Martin is the editor of the London New Statesman and Nation.

Western European Socialists realize that communism would not be a development of their own type of socialism, but the imposition of Soviet ideas which care nothing for either the tradition of political freedom or the type of civilization which has spread from the Mediterranean basin in the past two thousand years.

The three countries most affected by the dilemma—economic rehabilitation without communism—are Italy, France and Britain.

In Italy, the recent elections emphatically turned down the Popular Front coalition. The larger Socialist group—the Nenni Socialists—with open eyes had decided to work with the Communists and believed that they were preserving working-class unity by doing so. The Saragat Socialists thought that the Nenni group was betraying the working class to Russia and stayed outside the Front. It is still too soon to say whether the Nenni Socialists will split further and join up with the Saragat group to make possible an independent Socialist Party. Although the Saragat Socialists polled seven percent of the vote, they seem destined to become the prisoners of de Gasperi.

In France the situation is different because, confronted with a similar dilemma, the majority of Socialists tend to prefer de Gaulle to the Communists. The present French government does not represent the Third Force. It is rather a government of bankers, able to hold the fort for the time being because the large, dominant group in France, passionately devoted to personal liberty, prefers any representative government to either of the extremes. The Communists would liquidate the French middle class; de Gaulle would subjugate the mass of trade unionists, three-fourths of whom are avowed Communists.

The position of Britain is different again, because there communism is an almost negligible force. Ideologically it is completely impossible for the British labor movement to share the point of view either of Russia or of America. Deep dismay was felt throughout the movement when Bevin, after taking office, showed that he was willing for England to become, in effect, a satellite of the United States.

The result was a considerable minority revolt in the Labor Party. This revolt, which was never designed to destroy the Labor Government, but only to change its foreign policy, spread far beyond the small group of "Keep Left" MP's. It corresponded to a heightened sentiment in the party that Britain should be the leader of a social-democratic middle way between the United States and the Soviet Union. It found expression in outspoken demands for an independent grouping of Western European nations, strong enough to resist American pressure, either financial or military, and also strong enough to prevent the Soviet penetration of Western Europe.

This is still the position, I believe, which most British people would prefer to hold. However, Britain's financial situation makes her dependent, willy-nilly, on the United States and Canada. Also, pressure by Communists, who oppose all Marshall Plan aid, has made a social-democratic union of Western Europe without an American guarantee seem an almost impossible objective.

It was, therefore, no surprise to find that about a hundred Labor and Conservative members recently signed a

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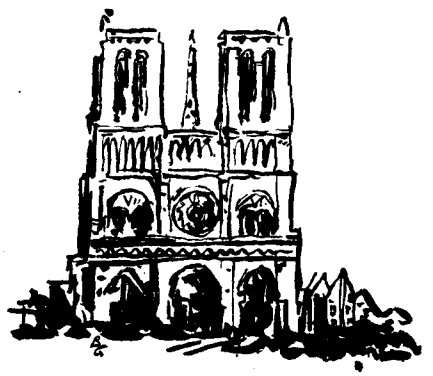

DRAWINGS BY BERNARD GOLDEN

declaration demanding an emergency unification of Western Europe under a combined staff with the duty of co-ordinating its social, economic and defense needs and, as a long-term policy, the federation of Western Europe.

Although signed only by back-bench members, and therefore unofficial, the resolution shows how fear of Russia and of communism can stimulate unity and lead to demands that a little while ago would have been considered impossibly radical. Thus, even Conservative MP's accept the assumption that Britain is part of Europe, and also that no insoluble dispute will arise with the Dominions if Britain enters into close economic unity with Western Europe. They also accept the idea of "planning" and are prepared to set up a combined staff, which, in the minds of the sponsors of the motion, means a peacetime equivalent of SHAEF in the last war.

Under the resolution, ultimate authority would remain with the governments, but an expert staff would be created from the different countries. The staff of experts would have executive authority and would conduct the daily routine involved in planning. While ostensibly it would be set up to override the vested interests of the separate states, the wording of the manifesto is vague, and open to various interpretations.

The Socialists who signed this document are aware that it contains no socialism, but merely the beginnings of a political and economic fusion which might well be perverted to ends far from those they desire. The suggestion, for instance, that Franco Spain should be included in ERP would obviously have made nonsense of the whole idea. It would also be difficult to see Western Union as anything but a military alliance—and as such dangerously weak—if de Gaulle won in France. In short, is it not likely that the entire movement may be perverted to military ends such as are at present the main basis of the new Western pact which Britain, France and the Benelux countries have signed in Brussels?

Its advocates would reply, I think, that the Socialist Parties are the prime organizers of any movement for unity in Western Europe, and that in the present circumstances it is idle to fight for socialism in one country; that we have to accept the fact of Britain as part of a new Western European grouping and extend our lifelong battle for social democracy from our own country to that of the whole field of Western Europe.

This means, it must be noted, not that Socialists whitewash France's imperialist war in Indo-China, or Dutch intransigence in Indonesia, but that they continue the fight for socialism and colonial emancipation throughout the Western bloc. In the past, British Socialists have fought—not unsuccessfully, as we now see in India and Burma—to modify British imperialism; a Western bloc means that we should have the right and the duty to take a hand in Dutch and French politics as they would have in ours.

We in England are conscious that our survival is highly precarious. Recently an American general stated that since London and other cities would be destroyed when the war began, the only real importance left to Britain is that we possess some useful airfields to serve as bases for American bombers in the next war. We do not relish this prospect.

Our hope, and only hope, lies in preventing the war and building in common with other West European nations a society which we can respect and defend. Economic recovery, which in the circumstances of Europe means Socialist recovery, is the only protection we have against disintegration and the growth of communism. It is a genuine, not a bogus, protection.

In France, for instance, the workers are now predominantly Communists. But that does not mean that they are happy about the prospect of the domination of Moscow and the abolition of individual freedom. It only means that in the absence of any other clear lead from the Left, the worker decides that the Communist is the fellow who knows what he wants and is likely to pull him out of his morass. He falls for the Communist in the same way that many German workers fell for Hitler in the economic and political despair of Weimar Germany.

Unless the United States or Russia completely loses its head and drifts into war as the result of some "incident," we probably have several years before a world war is in sight. This is not because the countries are ideologically unprepared, but because America lacks the air force and the army, and Russia proceeds by dialectical penetration and capitalist disintegration and not by military intervention. In this short breathing space, with dollar aid in sufficient quantities and for the right purposes, a strong and hopeful Western organization of Europe, capable of standing on its own feet and neither falling prey to communism nor becoming dependent on American aid, can be created.

What Europe needs is Socialist reconstruction and political integration. If this takes place in the course of the next few years, I should not rule out the hopes of a long period of peace. As long as Western Europe is disin-

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tegrating, the temptation to Russia to push forward with Communist penetration is overwhelming. If an alternative is given to Western workers, they will prefer socialism with freedom to socialism without freedom. Then the Soviet Union could be confronted with a new proposition which the Politburo might realistically consider.

Russian policy can change with a rapidity which is impossible in any country where public opinion develops without direction. The USSR could certainly "go back to Yalta," which was in effect an agreement between the great powers not to trespass on each other's domains.

In that case, the military, who are well aware that the war would be limitlessly destructive, would come to terms, accepting each other's obvious areas of influence and making realistic agreements in such areas as Germany, Greece, Iran and Korea. But even so, how long would such an agreement hold good? I do not know. But if it were reached, peace might last long enough for new conceptions and possibilities to arise for both the East and the West.

War would be less likely if in the meantime a new economic and power bloc had developed in Western Europe, strong enough to stand up for itself in negotiation with both America and Russia. America would have her own economic problem to tackle, and would be going through her own natural evolution. If the cold war were put into cold storage, much might change on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Communist groups throughout the world might develop their own form of socialism suitable to their own countries and not subservient to Moscow. They would remember, even if Moscow forgets, that the Communist Manifesto of 1848 states that in cases where the class war is resolved, the result has sometimes been not "the victory of the oppressed over the oppressors and the vital reconstruction of society," but "the common ruin of both the contending classes."

THE LEGION UNDER CONTROL

A typical cross-section of America, the American Legion ought to be an example of democracy in action; here are the reasons it isn't

by Justin Gray

When JOHN STELLE, then the National Commander of the American Legion, made headlines throughout the country on February 1, 1946, with a demand that General Omar N. Bradley be removed as head of the Veterans' Administration, even the American Legion was disgusted.

Thousands of letters protesting the National Commander's position descended upon the offices of various Legion publications. Post, county and even state groups within the Legion passed strongly worded resolutions censuring Stelle.

With all the opposition to Stelle's remarks from within the Legion, it was expected that the National Executive Committee, the top policy-making body, would censure the National Commander. The New York *Times* even predicted editorially, "We do not see how it can fail to repudiate Mr. Stelle's attack."

But nothing happened. Stelle and a few other ranking Legion leaders had cooked up the attack on Bradley because they feared that the General might limit their traditional control over the Veterans' Administration. The National Executive Committee stuck with Stelle. Despite the widespread pro-Bradley sentiment within the Legion, the committee met later that same February and formally voted to support the National Commander.

The failure of the Legion's national leaders to respect the membership's wishes in the Bradley-Stelle dispute is no isolated incident. The Bradley affair was typical of the manner in which the Legion is ruled. Just as the fundamental characteristic of the Legion's program is, as I pointed out in my first article (the *New Republic*, April 26), adherence to the aims and desires of organized business, so the fundamental characteristic of its internal organization is planned restriction of the members' rights.

The Legion *should* be one of the most democratic institutions in the US:

¶ The Legion's constitution seems, on the surface, to guarantee democracy. Its preamble mentions that Legionnaires associate themselves together "to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses" and "to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy."

¶ The character of the Legion's membership would seem to ensure democracy. The American Legion probably represents more nearly than any other organization a cross-section of the United States. Most of its members have been conditioned by the democratic traditions, attitudes and social mores of American society.

The structure of the Legion is simple, and of itself democratic enough. The individual Legionnaire joins with other individuals to form a post, the local entity. Posts within the same county usually form a county organization, and posts within each state invariably form a state organization, called the Department. Departments form the national organization, the American Legion.

Ultimate authority is vested in the

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annual national convention, which the Legion's constitution defines as "the legislative body of the American Legion." Actually, however, two jokers make the national convention as much of a farce legislatively as its delegates make it a comic opera socially.

The first joker is the indirect method of electing delegates. The Legion constitution specifically provides that delegates to the national convention "shall be chosen at department conventions." Individual Legionnaires never have had the right of voting directly for their national officers. The best an individual member can do is vote for a delegate from his own post to a county convention or, rarely, to a state convention.

By this sifting process the interests and convictions of the Legionnaires back on the post level are so well dissipated and destroyed that the results of the national conventions express the wishes of the original "voters" only by chance.

The Legion's constitution's second undemocratic joker is the vast power accorded to the National Executive Committee. The NEC is given administrative power "between national conventions"; it has full control of all Legion finances except for determining the amount of the annual dues; it has the sole power to charter and discipline departments; and it appoints the national adjutant, the national treasurer, the national judge advocate and the national historian. In practice, its power has increased to the point where it is almost absolute.

A single example will illustrate the power of the National Executive Committee today. A few labor-union members managed to become delegates to the 1941 national convention. Due mainly to their activities, the convention ordered the NEC to form a National Labor Relations Committee "to act as a liaison group to bring about a better understanding between labor and the Legion." But the NEC apparently disapproved. Despite the direct order from the convention, the committee was never formed. No one was able to do anything about it.

In part two, Justin Gray, former Assistant Director of the Legion's Americanism Commission, continues his story of the small group which directs the organization's ultra-conservative policies.

The Legion's founders knew that, as in the case of any oligarchy, two factors were necessary before they could establish and maintain control. They needed a strong executive, and they needed a technique for dissipating opposition.

Having obtained their power and a technique for retaining it, the Legion leaders set to work to "indoctrinate" the membership. Publicity is the obvious way to convince members that the leadership is serving their best interests. Two months after it was founded, the Legion established the *American Legion Weekly* as a means of reaching the membership. The Legion subsequently poured more and more money into this type of work; today its high-powered Public Relations Division spends a large portion of the annual million-dollar budget.

Headed by Raymond Fields of Oklahoma, the Public Relations Division is as interested in propagandizing the membership as it is in publicizing the Legion's activities to the outside world.

Under Fields's direction the Legion publishes two official organs which reach some 3.3 million members plus the 925,000 in the Auxiliary—the *American Legion Monthly* (which replaced the original weekly) and the *National Legionnaire,* a newspaper which normally goes out every two weeks. In addition, Fields's office sends out a regular weekly syndicated news and picture service to the Legion's 300-odd state, district, county and post papers. A weekly clip sheet is sent to every known community newspaper in the United States. This clip sheet includes news items and editorials calling for grass-roots action in support of the Legion's programs.

Two years ago the Legion set up a Radio Section within the Public Relations Division to produce a series of 15-minute transcribed programs. These shows are distributed free of charge and are now heard every week over more than 700 stations.

In July, 1946, the American Legion College was organized at national headquarters to train potential future leaders. Legionnaires from all over the country were brought to Indianapolis to attend specially prepared courses on every phase of the Legion's activities. In this way key men were influenced by the leadership.

After two terms of the College, a correspondence course, the American Legion Extension Institute, was established to "indoctrinate" the entire membership—"indoctrination" is the exact term used by the Legion in its prospectus announcing the Institute. Capsule courses, patterned after the International Correspondence Schools' techniques, were written and sent to the 16,000 posts for study by individual Legionnaires.

Augmenting such "publicity" and "indoctrination," the Legion brass has also devised a subtle technique for keeping Legionnaires in line. The Legion is deservedly proud of its work in rehabilitating disabled war veterans. Under the law creating the Veterans' Administration, service organizations were permitted to represent individual veterans in presenting their claims before the VA. This means that a veteran may, if he desires, appoint such an organization as the American Legion as his attorney to represent him in presenting his claim. This power of at-

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torney is given on VA form P-22. And this simple sheet of paper—the P-22—has become one of the most effective means of controlling the membership.

Down through the years the Legion and the Veterans' Administration have grown very close. Many key VA officials are Legionnaires. Regional and field offices of the VA are in most cases staffed by a majority of workers who are also Legion members. Appeal boards frequently are composed of men wearing the Legion pin. As a result of these ties, the ability of the American Legion's rehabilitation experts to expedite and obtain the settlement of a veteran's claim has risen to a high degree of efficiency. To give a single example: I have in my files a letter from a veteran who says he was told by a VA paid employee that if he would change his power of attorney from the American Red Cross to the Legion, he could get his pension.

Knowledge of this sort gets around. Most veterans know that the Legion is in the best position possible to get favorable action on such claims. The Legion leadership has used this P-22 well. It gets the veteran his pension. It also gets the unqualified support of the new member.

A similar but less direct form of pressure results from the Legion's size and influence. In many rural communities, it controls practically everything. If a veteran wants to get a job, he soon finds he must turn for help to the local Legion post. If he wants to buy a house or file for an unemployment claim, the Legion is probably the strongest local agency in a position to help him. In many cases, anyone who wants to go bowling on Friday nights must wind up at the only alley in town —Legion-owned. Thus, economically and socially, the average small-town or rural veteran is tied to the policies of the Legion leadership.

The Legion's hierarchy has been highly successful in forcing its membership to toe the line. But there are still thousands of Legionnaires who know that the policies of their organization's top echelon do not represent their best interests. The leaders are afraid of this group and have taken steps to gag dissidents.

In an attempt to present a solid front to Congress, the National Executive Committee in November, 1946, passed a resolution barring any post or member from expressing opinions before Congress in the name of the Legion. The *National Legionnaire* stated editorially: "The resolution declares that in the future none shall petition Congress or appear before it in connection with any legislative matter in behalf of the American Legion, except through the National Legislative Committee."

In effect, this ruling means that if any post, county or even state group opposes the official policies, it runs the risk of being kicked out of the Legion. This is exactly what happened to the Duncan-Paris Post in New York City.

Founded by former *Yank* and *Stars and Stripes* correspondents, the Duncan-Paris Post includes an influential group of newspaper, stage, screen and radio people. The members of the post made no secret of the fact that, while they believed in the Legion as being the largest and most effective veterans' organization, they also felt the Legion should face up to the issues of housing, jobs, security and peace—and act.

Post members in May, 1946, organized a widely publicized rally, "Operation Housing," to endorse Representative Wright Patman's (D, Tex.) veterans' emergency-housing bill. A week before this rally, National Commander Stelle came out in opposition to the bill in the name of the American Legion. Nevertheless the rally was held as planned.

Three months later, the Duncan-Paris Post was informed that it had been "suspended" from the Legion. No reason was given for this action and, contrary to the Legion's constitutional procedure, no hearing was allowed. Many of the members of the post are well-known liberals and progressives who were interested in activities considered "subversive" by the Legion hierarchy. Although charges were never made officially or substantiated, individual Legion leaders informed the press that the D-P Post was Communist-dominated and founded as a Trojan Horse. The post claims that the Legion didn't even take the trouble to revoke its charter legally, and has appealed its "suspension" to the courts. Decision is now pending.

Similar to their action against the Duncan-Paris Post—and affecting many more members—was the leaders' attempt to emasculate the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires. A group of 147 posts composed of members of trade unions, the Union Labor Conference has been a constant thorn in the side of the Legion leadership. It has fought tooth and nail to make the Legion a friend of labor.

However, a special Subcommittee on Un-Authorized Groups was established by the National Executive Committee to investigate possible ways and means of outlawing the Conference. Headed by past National Commander Harry W. Colmery, who in 1937 issued the famous Legion dictum on strike-breaking—it's okay to join vigilante mobs, "but don't wear the Legion uniform"—the subcommittee made its report on December 14, 1945.

Full of rationalizations and legal hairsplitting, the report said that ". . . the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires cannot and does not have any legal authorization or existence within the structure or under or pursuant to the Constitution of the American Legion."

Following Colmery's report on the

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Conference, word went out from national headquarters that no new trade-union posts were wanted in the Legion. From that moment on, labor posts were consistently denied charters.

According to Lester Kurtz of Kansas City, the Kansas City Industrial Union Council (CIO) submitted an application for a charter and had it turned down twice "for reasons not given." In San Francisco, the Pfc. Russell J. Barton Post, made up of representatives of 14 AFL unions, was never given a permanent charter. When the UAW tried to organize a post in Muskegon, Michigan, the Legion leadership refused to have anything to do with it.

The Tulsa Trades Council, affiliated with the AFL, was denied a charter by the Oklahoma Department's Executive Committee by unanimous vote. The reason given was that a "resolution had been adopted by the National Executive Committee of the American Legion, to prevent the formation of any additional employee Legion posts." The Oklahoma Department was obviously referring to Colmery's report.

In many cases individual trade-union members have found it impossible to become Legionnaires—in any sort of post. Fur Post No. 1049 in New York City was organized after World War I mainly by fur-industry employers. After V-J Day, however, many new veterans working in the industry began joining up. Following Colmery's "suggestive" report, not one known union man has ever gotten into the Fur Post.

As is usual in the Legion, a potential member of the Fur Post must appear before a subcommittee of the Membership Committee to be interviewed. The following questions were asked by the subcommittee of Morris D'Lasnow, a member of the Fur and Leather Workers' Union:

How many union meetings have you attended?

Are you active in the union?

If the union told you to go out on strike, would you go?

If the American Legion told you to break a strike, would you do it?

DRAWINGS BY BERNARDA BRYSON

D'Lasnow's answers were what might be expected of any union man. He was not admitted to the Fur Post.

The Legion originally admitted union men, but now tends to exclude them. It has done precisely the opposite with Negro veterans. In the twenties and thirties, all posts either prohibited or discouraged Negro Legionnaires. In states such as Georgia, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana, membership was officially limited to "Caucasians." In other states, posts simply refused membership to Negroes. In the comparatively few "liberal" states, a Negro was able to join only segregated Jim Crow posts.

Following World War II, two new veterans' organizations—the American Veterans' Committee and the United Negro and Allied Veterans of America—opened their ranks to all veterans without discrimination. The National Association for the Advancement of the Colored People, the National Urban League, the Southern Regional Council and other groups took greater interest in Negro veterans' problems.

Conscious of the increasing competition, the Legion leaders realized it was time for a change. Many of the traditional barriers against Negro veterans were removed. Amendments were written into the constitutions of many departments which outlawed the former "Caucasian only" rule. Today, in all states but Mississippi, Negro veterans are encouraged to join. There is a big catch to this reform, however. In most states Negroes are still restricted to segregated posts.

The power which the Legion's ruling hierarchy built up during 26 years through discrimination, indoctrination, gagging, undemocratic constitutional provisions, etc., seemed to be challenged when World War II veterans flocked to join the Legion. More than 2.1 million new Legionnaires now comprise about two-thirds of the total membership. Despite this overwhelming statistical superiority, the rulers have prevented the World War II men from obtaining any sort of real representation in higher policy-making circles. "After all," the San Francisco *Chronicle* quoted Harry Moses, a US Steel executive and important influence in behind-the-scenes workings of the Legion, "this Legion is a billion-dollar corporation. You don't just throw something that big over to a bunch of inexperienced boys."

It is true that a few of the top national positions are now filled by World War II veterans. But in most cases these men are hand-picked "candidates" of the old-line leadership. For 1946, two World War II National Vice-Commanders were elected—Dudley Swim and Fred LaBoon. Swim's financial connections—he is independently wealthy—suggested that he would not buck the traditional big-business-Legion coöperation. LaBoon served another purpose. He had an impressive war record. Captured at Bataan, he had spent three and a half years in Japanese prison camps. He had just returned to the States when an enterprising Legionnaire brought him to the national convention. The Legion leaders, seeing in LaBoon a natural drawing card for World War II veterans, nominated and elected him a National Vice-Commander.

Fred was confused by the whole thing. "You know, Justin," he said to me shortly after the convention, "if you had come home just at that moment and been from Oklahoma, they would have made *you* a National Vice-Commander."

The next year, 1947, saw the Legion brass moving more World War II men of their choice into key spots. Three National Vice-Commanders—Cadwal-

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lader, Buckner and Dervishian—were of World War II vintage. James Green, a new Legionnaire, was named chairman of the National Americanism Commission.

Jim Green offers a typical example of the way World War II men are picked by the hierarchy. Able, alert, good-humored and a graduate of the first American Legion College, Green can be expected to follow in the tradition of the older Legion rulers.

He is the law partner of Robert Webb, the man he succeeded as chairman of the Americanism Commission. Thus everything is still kept in the old Legion family. Also, the appointment of Jim Green to this strategic job probably means that the leaders have already singled him out as a potential National Commander. More national officers have moved up from the Americanism Commission chairmanship than from any other job in the Legion.

Green's appointment highlights the role played by the American Legion College—discussed earlier in this article—in the plans of the leadership. When it was first organized, the College seemed to offer the newer veterans a means of making their influence felt. This idea soon turned out to be false. The students at the College were not average Legionnaires chosen by the membership. Instead, they were handpicked by the leadership.

Typical of those chosen to attend the first session was Frank C. Kimbrell of Jackson, Mississippi. Kimbrell's qualifications included the fact that he had been a campaign manager for the late Senator Bilbo. Kimbrell has since returned to his native state to begin his rise in the Legion machine—with the blessing of the leaders.

Similarly, a certain number of graduates of the American Legion Extension Institute are brought to Indianapolis for additional instruction. It might be expected that the Legionnaires making the best record in the correspondence course would be selected. But, according to the official announcement, "The final selection of students from each state to attend the postgraduate school will be made by department officials." The leaders are still picking their men.

The hierarchy has also recently revitalized an almost foolproof system of killing anything it opposes by simple lethargy—by never taking any action one way or another until the issue dies a natural death.

The trick is to dig out the trustworthy word "democracy" and say that no policy can be formulated until the membership indicates its desires. When public housing was under consideration, the Legion leaders suddenly became very conscious of the need for "democracy." For more than a year they refused to take a stand on the Wyatt-Patman bill while "the membership was consulted." But when National Commander Stelle wanted to attack General Bradley and ask for his removal as Administrator of the VA, time was not taken to consult the membership. "Democracy" and "consulting the membership" are, of course, the proper techniques. But for the Legion leadership they mean only delay—and an additional method of keeping itself in power.

Any organization controlled from the top, as is the Legion, and secure in the mechanics that perpetuates that control, would be expected to develop its own body of rulers. The Legion has done exactly that. The "kingmakers" are the ultimate authority in the Legion oligarchy. They are the men behind the scenes who pull the strings in national Legion elections. Their influence can easily be overestimated, for they are actually only the political rather than the financial rulers. But in the political arena the kingmakers are supreme and actually decide—sometimes as much as five years ahead—who shall hold office.

Paul H. Griffith is a typical product of the kingmakers. Griffith was elected National Commander in 1947 as a result of a deal cooked up early in 1943 which gave the job to a Pennsylvanian. Pennsylvania's choice at that time was Jim Isherwood, but he died before he could accept the position. Pennsylvania's second choice was Griffith, who was then a colonel and an assistant to General Hershey in the Selective Service setup. The kingmakers decided to wait until Griffith got out of the Army to fulfil their obligation to the Keystone State. At the 1946 convention, he was "elected" National Commander for 1947.

It's not easy to put your finger on the men who make National Commanders. There was one leader, however, who, before his recent death, was often called the kingmaker of all kingmakers. His name was William H. Doyle and he came from Massachusetts.

Doyle was the Jim Farley of the Legion. No one was elected to national office without first having obtained Doyle's stamp of approval. Kingmaker Doyle once even got a national convention to condemn the movie "Citizen Kane" because it offended his good friend, William Randolph Hearst.

Since Doyle's death there has been a mad scramble for his mantle. It could be William McKinley, national executive committeeman from New Jersey; or Ben Dorris of Portland, Oregon; or William Stern of Fargo, North Dakota; or possibly Frank Belgrano, a vice-president of the Bank of America in California. The best bet probably is Harry W. Colmery, past National Commander, who drew up the report outlawing the National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires.

But no matter who succeeds to Doyle's power, the Legion's rulers seem secure. By constitutional devices, propaganda, the P-22, gag rule, revocation of charters, discrimination, hand-picked leaders and ordinary stalling, they have developed the Legion into a rigid oligarchy controlled by a few business-minded leaders. Only long-term and concerted action at the grass-roots level can defeat them.

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COSTELLO GETS A LESSON IN CIVICS

by Joseph P. Lyford

BUFFALO

ELEANOR DUSHANE is an attractive brunette who has taught civics and French in Buffalo schools for 22 years. Superintendent Robert T. Bapst has rated her work "uniformly good," and once considered her of "excellent" ability. Nevertheless, Miss Dushane has been relieved of her duties because of "incompetence."

As one might suspect, the real reason behind this teacher's suspension has nothing to do with her performance in the classroom. Miss Dushane is in trouble because she reads the wrong newspaper.

The charge of incompetence is the most recent of many varied accusations brought against Miss Dushane. Since May, 1946, Principal Charles J. Costello has sought her dismissal from East High School on successive charges of insubordination, subversive activities and inefficiency. The first two accusations were investigated and dropped; the third attempt to dislodge her has succeeded.

Miss Dushane, who used to keep copies of *PM* and the *New Republic* in her classroom desk, incurred Costello's enmity in the spring of 1946 when she posted the notice of a lecture by Max Lerner, *PM* editorial writer. Costello ordered the poster removed. She objected, so he asked the school board to fire her for insubordination.

The board declined to take action, but Miss Dushane's troubles had only begun. Throughout the school year, she received anonymous, threatening letters and obscene notes through the mails. Postcards were sent to her students; a typical one read, in part:

> Dear Classmate: You are too nice a girl to foolishly get mixed up with a Communistic movement. You are not in any of . . . Miss Dushane's classes. Then why do you hang around her? People are talking about it. . . . Better think it all over pretty thoroughly. You are being watched.

Last fall the pressure on Miss Dushane increased. New charges of "subversive" activities were brought against her. It was related that she once read a section of the Russian Constitution to her class with the comment "That's a great thing on paper"; and had declared at another time that more attention should be paid to Civil Rights Week. The school board investigated and grudgingly cleared her again.

There was a gap in Miss Dushane's armor, however. In September, 1946, her old adversary, Principal Costello, had inexplicably assigned her to teach Spanish. The teacher protested that she was not qualified to handle the subject, but to no avail. Costello's motive became fairly clear by the end of the school year, when 50 percent of Miss Dushane's Spanish class failed in its examinations. This example of "inefficiency" gave Costello the opening he was looking for. Miss Dushane was politely told that she could either take a "sick leave" or submit to a physical examination from a doctor appointed by the school board. Faced with this ultimatum, Miss Dushane unwillingly accepted the first alternative.

Up to this point many Buffalo newspaper readers were ignorant of what was actually behind the unrelenting campaign against the teacher. They were soon given some interesting hints. A week after Miss Dushane applied for "sick leave," five East High alumni charged that she was being persecuted by an administration "seeking to suppress several fundamentals of our national democratic principles—academic freedom, freedom from fear, and the separation of church and state."

The alumni declared that Costello had called one of Miss Dushane's pupils into his office and cross-examined him for two hours because the boy had been found carrying a copy of *PM*. Sitting in on the inquisition, the alumni said, was a local clergyman.

The presence of a clergyman in the scene provided a highly explosive angle which was developed further by Miss Dushane's lawyer, David Diamond. He released an affidavit, signed by 14-year-old Eleanor Kolodziej, which made this startling disclosure:

> On or about May 2, 1946, I attended a meeting in the Catholic Building on Niagara Square following a postcard notice which I received, signed by Father Schieder, requesting me to come there to discuss Regents credits. I attended with 23 or 24 students of East High School.
>
> A long series of questions was asked of us and Father Schieder showed us a small poster announcing a lecture by Professor Max Lerner, to be held at First Unitarian Church. He also exhibited several magazines, such as the *Nation* and the *New Republic,* and the newspaper *PM,* as well as a notebook containing the names of students of Miss Dushane and a pack of index cards on which [she] had written civics notes.
>
> I recognized all of these articles as having come from Miss Dushane's classroom and Father Schieder stated that they had. . . . [He] stated that these articles had been turned over to him.
>
> Father Schieder questioned us about other subjects, including books which he inquired of us as to our having borrowed from Miss Dushane. Included among these books was *Rich Land, Poor Land,* by Stuart Chase, which Father Schieder stated was a bad book.

After these revelations, the Buffalo school board went incommunicado. It considered in secret session Miss Dushane's request for a public hearing, while the Buffalo *Evening News* complained that the "public is left entirely in the dark regarding the situation."

Miss Dushane is not without support. A Buffalo Committee to Defend American Education, headed by a University of Buffalo instructor named Barton Bean, has taken her case to court. The school board's attorney has already admitted that his client's action in requesting Miss Dushane to take sick leave was "null and void, ineffectual, and unenforceable."

These recent developments have been extremely discomfiting to the school board. In its exasperation it has dealt an ironic penalty to the man who started the whole business. Principal Costello has been told to go and take a sick leave for himself.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

GROWTH OF A STATESMAN

by William Harlan Hale

IN THE SUMMER OF 1885, young Henry Stimson, a New York physician's son who had just finished his freshman year at Yale, went out to the Rocky Mountains to see what was then still Indian frontier country and half-mapped wilderness. In the summer of 1945, almost two generations later, the same Henry Stimson journeyed to Potsdam as Secretary of War of the world's most powerful nation to confer amid the ruins of the German Reich which he had helped destroy. And while he was there he received the secret flash that his War Department's first atomic bomb had gone off successfully in New Mexico —thus closing one cycle of history and opening another.

Those 60 years saw America's full emergence from parochialism and isolation. Henry Stimson materially helped it emerge. Serving in the cabinets of four Presidents, he left a major imprint upon each. Setting forth as a protégé of that stanch Hamiltonian, Elihu Root, upon whom he sought to pattern his career, he retired on the verge of 80 as a close admirer and partial legatee of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

A personal chronicle covering so broad a span of thought and action could hardly fail to be interesting. But Stimson's memoirs (*On Active Service;* Harpers, $5) are even more than interesting. As set down by his collaborator, McGeorge Bundy, on the basis of diaries, papers and recollections of key ideas and salient men, they constitute a central document of our times.

In his public career as well as in his private law practice, Stimson was a conspicuous success. What is more, he grew. Not that the man who had started out in Root's stiffly Republican downtown law office became transformed into a whole-souled democrat under the second Roosevelt. On the contrary, he candidly says that he "never posed as an egalitarian." He seems to have stuck throughout his life to the point of view which he expressed back in 1910 to his second great friend and mentor, Theodore Roosevelt: "The Republican Party, which contains, generally speaking, the richer and more intelligent citizens of the country, should take the lead in reform."

Nevertheless, he grew. He was like both the presidential Roosevelts in that he climbed out of satisfied and rather stuffy beginnings to view ever wider horizons. But unlike the first Roosevelt, he did not spill over into flag-waving effervescence and then dry up in incoherent frustration. Like the second Roosevelt, whom he cherished even though he could not go along with his New Deal, he caught the clear vision of worldwide coöperation, and when he faced President Truman as one of Roosevelt's closest survivors he proposed what might have been the most revolutionary foreign-policy measure in our history—to renounce voluntarily the use of the atom bomb and relinquish our control of it in the interest of reaching immediate understanding with Russia.

Summarizing the world between two wars, Stimson writes, "The besetting sin of the nations was nationalism; that of the statesmen was timidity." He appears to have looked on the great powers somewhat as he did on his fellow Republicans—those "richer and more intelligent citizens" who should therefore "lead in reform." Only by bold moves on their part could the disordered world be held together. And Stimson was bold.

Back in 1915, while Woodrow Wilson was still trying to persuade himself that America could stay out of the war and yet affect its outcome, Stimson had decided for himself that there could be no neutrality in the face of aggression. In the 1920's, when it was treason for Republicans to do so, he argued that we must lower our tariffs to aid world recovery. By 1931, when America was still blindly trying to collect the uncollectible war debts, he reached the prophetic position that "debts incurred in a common struggle should never be repaid."

Next year, convinced that Japan had fallen into the hands of "mad dogs," he startled a complacent world by refusing as Secretary of State to recognize her grab of Manchuria; and then, barely giving his countrymen time to accustom themselves to his new moral stand against aggression, he began to argue (much against the pacifist inclinations of his somewhat frightened chief, President Hoover) that words were not enough and that if Japan persisted in her course, we must impose economic sanctions.

Stimson confesses that for a short time, at the start of the 1930's, he was bemused by such characters as Mussolini, Hindenburg and Laval, and underestimated the rising force of fascism and dictatorship; but by 1935 he had become convinced that the Nazi-Japanese threat was heading our way, and by 1939 (at a time when most good Americans were coming to the aid of the isolationist party) he had decided that it would be our duty to pitch in to prevent a fascist victory.

All told, one might say that Stimson was America's most radical traditionalist. He rarely let stock patterns and prejudices ensnare him; new challenges called for new answers, and he had a knack for tackling first things first. Thus he did not let his own Republicanism stand in the way of joining up in 1940 with Franklin D. Roosevelt, in whom he recognized the

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leader of the internationalist cause. Neither did his personal conservatism inhibit his keenness to collaborate wholeheartedly with wartime Russia. Here and there, to be sure, old-line prejudices appear in his memoirs, as when he belabors home critics of our deal with Darlan for their "ideological naïveté" and shows annoyance at those who objected to high wartime arms-industry profits. But then again Stimson proudly recalls such things as his championship of General Stilwell against both the American and Chinese pals of Chiang Kai-shek (for whose regime he has little or no use); and when he comes up to Marshall Plan Europe, he shows a broad tolerance of its socialist movements and insists that "we cannot ask that Europe be rebuilt in the American image."

His memoirs run to nearly 700 pages: yet they strike one as curiously hard-bitten and condensed. Personal impressions, physical descriptions, anecdotes and high-level gossip play almost no part in the book; it is austere in narrative, reserved in criticism (save when it deals with the Washington admirals of World War II, who were Stimson's special bane), generous in praise (perhaps to a fault when it comes to President Hoover) and Olympian in its concentration on larger issues.

It isn't easy to read—just as Stimson wasn't always an easy man to follow. But in spite of its self-discipline and dryness, it gives an impression of unusual candor. It is a book of ideas, by a man whose strategy was ideas. Stimson emerges in it as a hard-headed, driving, abstemious and yet spacious personality, strong on self-improvement, Protestant morality, "gentlemanly" leadership and the code of *noblesse oblige,* while somewhat short of that external warmth which builds up political sex appeal. He was also, by his own admission, a man who took time (sometimes too much time, according to columnists like Drew Pearson, who sniffed at his long rests and vacations) to think. But the thinking that resulted was broad, humane and firm, and Americans of all parties may long ponder this statesman and the lessons he has left.

KAFKA'S JOURNAL

DIARIES: 1910-13, by Franz Kafka. Edited by Max Brod. Translated by Joseph Kresh (Schocken Books, Inc.; $3.75).

THE FIRST VOLUME of Franz Kafka's *Diaries* has been published; the second (and final) volume is in preparation. It is somewhat surprising that this translation will be the first appearance of the complete *Diaries* in any language. For several years Kafka has been the hero of literary criticism, and in a very personal way—as the archetype of contemporary Man, as the dedicated Artist, the Victim, etc. He is the number-one literary case history and the *Diaries* appear belatedly as the most important documentary evidence.

The present volume covers Kafka's life from 27 to 30. He was living with his family in Prague, "a reserved, silent, unsocial, dissatisfied person," working in business and trying to keep to a writing schedule of eight to eleven in the evening. Of this arrangement he wrote: "It is a horrible double life from which there is probably no escape but insanity." Of his life at home: "I have no family feeling and visitors make me almost feel as though I were being maliciously attacked." His room is "in the very headquarters of the uproar of the entire house" whose noises and distractions he lists interminably. It occurs "that I might open the door a narrow crack, crawl into the next room like a snake, and in that way, on the floor, beg my sisters and their governess for quiet."

The family was dominated by the father, who spoke "in a boastful and quarrelsome tone" and insisted that his son Franz be "endlessly grateful to him." Kafka notes, further, "the whimpering of my poor mother because I do not eat." At this date Kafka was 29 years old; he both chafed at and reveled in the infantilism of his life at home; he was obsessed with "my childish appearance," and describes himself as "a young man whom everyone takes to be 18 years old." Contradiction persists throughout the

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volume: a kind of invalid's inertia and childish submission to authority on the one hand, and on the other, vanity, arrogance and impatience.

Associated with his childishness is his illness, and it is interesting that his family thought one would disappear with the other, that marriage and children would put an end to his hypochondria. But Kafka was not to be persuaded of the efficacy of human relations. "I'll shut myself off from everyone. . . . Make an enemy of everyone. Speak to no one." When he broke his engagement, he insisted in partial explanation: "Nervous states of the worst sorts control me without pause," and of his fiancée he wrote: "I love her as I am capable of it, but the love lies buried to the point of suffocation under fear and self-reproaches."

In his attitude to his illness there is the same ambiguity that persists in his protracted childhood. In some moods, he seemed to regard his writing as therapy or a kind or exorcism. In one entry he writes, "I, who want to cure my neurasthenia through my work . . . ," and in another, he mentions his "great yearning to write all my anxiety entirely out of me. . . . This is no artistic yearning." And he lists as an advantage in keeping a diary the courage derived from the record of sustained suffering "in situations which today would seem unbearable." Finally, when he contemplates resigning from the office and dedicating himself completely to his "real life," he predicts that "with the progress of my work, my face will finally be able to age in a natural way."

But there is in his invalidism, as in his childishness, a kind of deliberate defensive cultivation. Just as he can speak of "the great manly future which usually seems so impossible to me," he discloses the deviousness of the invalid when he notes, "I always looked to my inability as my guide into the future." And in the most explicit passage on this score he wrote that "when it became clear . . . that writing was the most productive direction for my being to take . . . I atrophied in all those directions [toward normal life] . . . because the totality of my strengths was so slight that only collectively could they even halfway serve the purpose of my writing."

Any casual survey of the contents of this volume shows how closely Kafka identified his work with his life. These notations of his personal predicaments would often serve as epigraphs to his stories. The loneliness, the shyness, the elaborate conditions necessary "in order to speak to young girls"—all are familiar. His deep interest in the Yiddish theater and in Jewish ritual and "custom" are familiar in the detailed gesture and physical minutiae of his stories and in the near-insane monotony of their motivation and action. There is the characteristic frustration in the merely mechanical aspects of daily life. Records of dreams are frequent and extensive.

What one chiefly misses is the humor of Kafka's formal work. In making his stories out of his life and sufferings, he was released from the confinement of his self, and this is most apparent in his keen irony and occasional exuberant physical humor. The *Diaries*, on the contrary, are painful almost without relief, dark, close, obsessive, full of "sorrow and fear," "weakness and cowardice" and "the nearness of insanity." One of the entries that might serve as a kind of simplified index reads complete: "1. Digestion 2. Neurasthenic, 3. Rash, 4. Inner insecurity." And over the whole might be written that most frightening question which Kafka asked of himself: "Who is to confirm for me the truth or probability of this, that it is only because of my literary mission that I am uninterested in all other things and therefore heartless."

JOHN FARRELLY

LITERATURE IN ITALY

by Elena Craveri Croce

THE POSTWAR PERIOD in Italy has favored certain literary media traditionally alien to native taste. The novel, which has seldom flourished here, is now thriving, and with it diaries journals and reportage. The greatest of the Italian best-sellers, Carlo Levi's *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, is already known in America. It has not only real literary merit; it communicates with exceptional power. It handles that most vexing problem of southern Italy with a light and felicitous touch, and the book owes its success to this manner of treatment, rather than to its social content.

Levi's popularity is also a key to the riddle that baffles foreigners: the failure of Silone to become popular in Italy. Without undertaking a real comparison, it is enough to say that while Levi's book is written with the greatest ease and with pictorial and literary vividness, Silone, despite the prestige that he personally merits and enjoys, is not a great writer in Italian. His books do not come alive in our language; they necessitate laborious deciphering. And this difficulty arises not from any technical inadequacies of his style, but because he lacks expressive power.

Among the best-sellers, but on a level below Levi, are two books now being translated into English: *Chronicles of Unhappy Lovers*, by Vasco Pratolini, and *The Sky Is Red*, by Luigi Berto. Berto's novel, it has been remarked, reads like "a bad translation of an American novel," and nothing in it points to a real literary talent. The author must be given credit for his ability to sustain a dramatic episode (a story of abandoned children set against the background of destruction), and this, with a sentimentality of dubious sincerity, accounts for his success. The book was written for the most part while the author was a prisoner of war in America, and reflects no direct experience of the

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events recounted. Similar scenes were far better treated in the Italian films "Open City," "Shoe-Shine" and "Paisan."

Pratolini began his career with childhood reminiscences that showed a delicate and very subjective talent but which hardly foreshadowed the popular novelist that he has since become. He is oriented toward communism, apparently from motives of emotional bitterness rather than from any considerable political conviction. In his hands the social themes of life among the poor become picturesque and pathetic; he embroiders them with a twilight grace that displays little true feeling for humanity.

In Berto and Pratolini you can see traces of the influence of American fiction, an influence that pervades a large area of Italian fiction and dates back to the prewar years. Americans of widely varying critical standing have made themselves felt here, among them Hemingway, Saroyan, Faulkner, Cain, Caldwell and Steinbeck. The chief recipients of this Americanization are perhaps the two leading Communist novelists (who have also been active in the translation of American works): Cesare Pavese and Elio Vittorini. Pavese's best story, *Your Towns,* which appeared about 1940, as well as the most famous of Vittorini's novels, *Conversation in Sicily* (in which the influence of Wilder's *Our Town* is manifest), both suffered from the artificial imposition of a foreign manner.

This persistence in the use of an alien formula has brought a sterility into the work of these two abundantly gifted writers. Vittorini's most recent novels, one of which dealt with the Resistance, have been much less popular than his earlier works, and the same is true of Pavese's latest book.

Alberto Moravia is one of the current writers who are not only widely read here but are also translated and read abroad. The first of his two postwar books, and one of his best, is *Agostino,* which has already appeared in England. It is a vigorous and sustained narrative in which the

LITHOGRAPH BY CAGLI
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Freudian motifs associated with adolescent sexual preoccupation are treated with surpassing limpidity and raised to a plane of almost complete rationality. It is this quality that has aroused Italian interest in *Agostino* and not, as Edmund Wilson asserted in *Europe without Baedeker,* because it represents the first importation of psychoanalysis into Italy.

Moravia's other new novel, *The Roman Wench,* is the story of a prostitute, and he handles the subject matter realistically but with a dry objectivity. The opening sections, which treat the gradual initiation of the protagonist into her profession, have a special subtlety and an uncommon penetration; later the novel ravels out because of a dwindling narrative coherence.

In the same generation and in the same class with Moravia are Vitaliano Brancati and Mario Soldati. Brancati's *Don Juan in Sicily* was a great success of the war years. It is a happy portrayal of love in the Sicilian mode, a myth of entwined comico-pathetic motifs. It is distinguished by a humor that would recall Chekhov if Brancati were not more immediately influenced by Giovanni Verga, the Sicilian novelist who was also the best Italian novelist of the late nineteenth century.

The Piedmontese, Mario Soldati, possesses a well-trained literary style which, like Brancati's, gains vigor and individuality from its regional quality; but he has not yet produced a book that realizes his full potentialities. His first studies, abandoned after a brilliant beginning, were written in the capacity of art historian, and it was in this field that he won his fellowship to Columbia University. Of his sojourn in America, and of his hate-in-love attitude toward that society, he has left a record in a fine journalistic account, *America: Love at First Sight.* Since his return, most of his attention has been devoted to the movies, and as a writer he has given us only one collection of stories. They testify, nevertheless, to an inventiveness quite out of the ordinary.

In the postwar period, the highly regarded Calabrian writer, Corrado Alvaro, has published one novel, but in general he is happier working in the form of the lyric short story. Dino Buzzati is a writer inspired by Kafka (he is about the only one in Italy) who enjoyed a great success in the early 1940's with his novel, *The Desert of the Tartars.*

We turn finally to our most important and characteristic writers, Riccardo Bacchelli and Aldo Palazzeschi. They are extreme individualists, and have nothing in common except their strong personalities. Bacchelli is the most impressive and complex Italian literary personality of the day. He is a humanist who possesses the penetration and finished training of a great historian. Some of his most remarkable novels are in fact on historical themes; notably *The Devil on the Puntelungo,* which is about Bakunin and his circle, and *The Mill on the Po,* a long novel embracing the whole period from the Napoleonic Wars to the First World War. In both these novels—and this is Bacchelli's basic characteristic—poetry and history are interwoven without being merged, and because they are not merged they nourish each other.

Bacchelli's latest novel, *The Plaint of the Son of Laish,* is, like most of this author's work, distinguished from other contemporary writing by the somewhat remote and regal style

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that suits his attitude of subtly reactionary individualism, and, in this case, admirably fits his subject. His characters stand out in sharp relief against a background reminiscent of seventeenth-century painting. They are constructed with great fidelity to the spirit of the original but also with tremendous psychological penetration. The result is analogous to, though quite different from, Thomas Mann's experiment with the story of Joseph.

Aldo Palazzeschi is another writer who, although literary in the best sense and with an essentially aristocratic turn of mind, enjoys wide recognition not only among the critics but with the public at large. Lively anticipation is being aroused by his new novel, *The Brothers Cuccoli,* which is about to appear 15 years after his great book, *The Sisters Materassi.*

Among books by big-name writers with a certain foreign public may be mentioned Malaparte's *Kaput* and Giovanni Papini's *Letters of Pope Celestine VI to All Mankind.* I cite these examples of false, inflated literature, not because they reflect any serious Italian tendencies, but because their publication satisfies a kind of debased curiosity on the part of a less cultivated and oriented public. They have made no impression on criticism.

Diaries, memoirs and the like, most of them political, have been numerous in the postwar period, but they would need separate treatment. The Resistance has yielded nothing in the way of poetry or topical literature (except for an occasional novel of limited importance), but only popular songs and documentary reports which have historical value and often profound moral significance. Still in the project stage is a collection of letters from war casualties, which will undoubtedly constitute one of the most telling documents of these years.

A widely known and singular book of this last year is *Letters from Prison,* by Antonio Gramsci, the founder of the Italian Communist Party, who died in jail of tuberculosis. The interest of these letters far transcends Gramsci's political importance. They testify to the intense preoccupation of a man of exceptional moral and mental vigor with the thought and culture of his times—a thought and culture from which his imprisonment excluded him. The main object of his polemic efforts is the works and personality of Benedetto Croce, whom he steadfastly regarded not only as the greatest Italian critic of Marxism but also as a master of historical and philosophical methods. In this intimate correspondence, Gramsci brings to bear an openness of mind and a sense of cultural values hopelessly beyond the grasp of today's Communist intellectuals, who venerate him as their spiritual father. These letters occasionally call to mind the naked, vigorous intensity of certain eighteenth-century pietist autobiographies.

Italian poetry, which is addressed to more patient and better trained readers and might conceivably appeal to translator-poets, stands a chance of becoming known abroad sooner than contemporary Italian fiction. But the most outstanding of our poets of the generation between wars, Eugenio Montale, will present considerable problems to the translator. His second volume of lyric poems, *The Occasions,* was, with the younger generation, the most widely discussed and appreciated collection of the late war years. Salvatore Quasimodo is readily translatable, and on this account perhaps is more admired by foreign than by Italian critics. He is a Sicilian, an able translator from the Greek, who combines classical visions with a realistic impressionism.

Among the younger poets may be cited Sandro Penna, who has written some short verse showing a luminous, airy grace. But any attempt to unravel the tangled experiments, rebellions and reversals of the coming generation would indeed make a long story.

Elena Craveri Croce, the eldest of Benedetto Croce's four daughters, has written several articles for her father's magazine, Quaderni della Critica. *Mrs. Craveri is active in left-wing politics, and in 1936 married a lawyer who joined the Underground during the war.*

MUSIC

Mahler a la Tudor

BALLET THEATER, one of America's principal exponents of What the Well-Dressed Stage Will Wear, has brought forth a costly and vacuously lovely hour of nonsense in Antony Tudor's ballet, "Shadow of the Wind," an interpretation of "Das Lied von der Erde," the song-symphony by Gustav Mahler. Jo Mielziner, who can shift from the outskirts of New Orleans in "A Streetcar Named Desire" to an idealization of eighth-century China without dislocating his creative fancy, has designed an altogether exquisite background of great gray-blue panels suggestive of Chinese screens, and has costumed the dancers in soft, lyrical garments of quietly harmonious colors. Little curved bridges are dotted about the stage, and now and again the lights black out as someone picturesquely fades from the stage carrying a lighted lantern on a long pole.

Tudor has contributed to all this *chinoiserie* a sequence of placid movements by solo dancers and groups, sometimes a bit faster and sometimes a bit slower, but all in an unbroken mood of withdrawal from nowhere into the never-never-land. It is one long, psychic lullaby; and if Tudor, one of the most confirmed *fin-de-siècle* Romanticists of our day, wants in some future ballet to escape still farther, he will have no choice but to show the entire company fast asleep on the stage.

Soothing though the montage may be, it has little to do with Mahler's "Lied von der Erde." Resignation and the lapse into eternity, it is true, constitute the subject matter of the symphony. But it is a robust musical conception, with rousing climaxes as well as passages of self-abnegation, a thousand times richer in its interplay of sentiment than Tudor's naïve accompaniment.

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The eighth-century Chinese poems which, in Hans Bethge's German translation, furnish the text, are specific in their content, and Mahler's score is concerned directly with these poems. Tudor is wrong to suppose that the music for "The Drinking Song of Earthly Woe" will serve equally well for a movement called "Six Idlers of the Bamboo Valley," or "Autumn Solitude" for "The Abandoned Wife." Moreover, any Chinese elements remaining in "Das Lied von der Erde" after the transmutations of Bethge and Mahler are purely accidental. Like Mahler's Ninth Symphony or Schönberg's "Verklärte Nacht," the symphony is the threnody of a Vienna dying of artistic exhaustion and pessimism.

To say that Igor Youskevitch, Alicia Alonso, Hugh Laing and Nana Gollner danced well is beside the point. They usually do, whether the choreography assigned to them makes sense or not. The most unfortunate feature of the presentation, apart from the corrupt notion that any dancing goes well with any music, was the half-scale impression of Mahler's great work given to many who were encountering it for the first time. An orchestra considerably reduced from the numbers Mahler had in mind produced a thin and unimpressive texture, and second-rate soloists made the music sound like a series of passages too difficult to sing. The one redeeming feature was the admirable understanding of Max Goberman, Ballet Theater's gifted chief conductor.

As "Shadow of the Wind" makes the rounds of the country on tour next year, audiences will see a gradually changing spectacle. Tudor is reported to have said that it will take him another year to finish the ballet properly. One thing is sure: he will not be able to eliminate any more of the meaning of "Das Lied von der Erde."

Bruno Walter concluded the New York Philharmonic-Symphony season with three performances of Beethoven's "Missa Solemnis." It was a curious version of the music, and in many ways a disquieting one, despite the spirit of lofty devotion which pervaded the proceedings. Walter's habit of becoming wrapped up in the sentiment of a melodic phrase, his way of dwelling upon an expressive passage until the last bit of flavor is extracted, gave the music a nostalgic beauty more appropriate to Mahler than to Beethoven, and blurred and flattened out the structural outlines of the monumental work. Some of the more active sections—particularly the fugues—sounded driven, and the orchestra and singers were not always synchronized.

Except for a lack of balance among the parts, which occasionally rendered the middle voices inaudible, the Westminster Choir sang excellently, the sopranos sustaining the cruel succession of high notes without signs of fatigue. Eleanor Steber achieved seraphic moments in the soprano solo part, but the other three soloists seemed to be working hard. If one accepted the intention for the deed, it was an impressive presentation of the sublimely difficult masterpiece. CECIL SMITH

RADIO-TELEVISION: Some Jokers

HENRY MORGAN is on television now, and he is still on the radio. If you are addicted to his type of air-fun (as I am), stick to the old medium. The video production, Sundays at seven, doesn't carry enough Morgan to justify interrupting a weekend.

Of course, even if you wanted to see Morgan on television, you could indulge yourself only if you lived within the horizon of four stations: WABD, New York; WFIL-TV, Philadelphia; WMAR-TV, Baltimore; and WMAL-TV, Washington. That's all there is, as yet, to ABC's video hookup.

Morgan acts as master of ceremonies to four or five mild vaudeville acts. He also kids the commercials, when he can. On the première, which I did not see, I am told he went to town when the refrigerator playing a part in the commercial plug happened to drop a part. Morgan proceeded to break up the ice-box and almost broke up the show. But that was sheer accident, and at the second performance Morgan didn't seem to know quite why he was there. His writers knew still less, and the cameramen achieved a state of acute bewilderment.

In a way, the Morgan failure is a commentary on television's generally amateur programming. In radio, comedy has always been the most successful formula. Similar Hooper records will never be hit by television's present suitors for the nation's laughter.

Three years ago, the National Opinion Research Center conducted the first public-opinion poll for the National Association of Broadcasters. When all the figures had been charted and tabulated, they were turned over for analysis and interpretation to Dr. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, a famous radio researcher and, among other things, director of Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Social Research. He put his findings into a book, *The People Look at Radio*. The whole venture cost something like $40,000.

Now a new poll has been taken, also by the NORC, and a new book is in preparation, also by Dr. Lazarsfeld. I was among a handful privileged recently to an advance look at the professor's new interpretations, based on the latest figures. I prefer Morgan.

As a non-statistical layman, I found myself at a disadvantage when trying to pass judgment on the doctor's carefully organized composition. But I remembered what happened last time. In 1946, the NAB issued a publicity release contending that listeners liked radio advertising. That claim was based on Lazarsfeldiana. I then turned to the source, and found what seemed like double-talk.

The professor cited figures to prove that only about a third of the respondents were "opponents" of the radio commercial. But the same table showed

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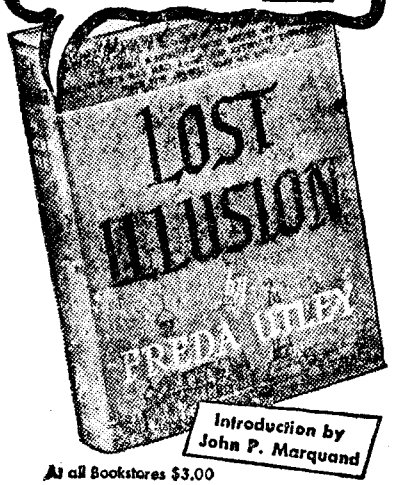

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also that only 23 percent of those interviewed really were "in favor" of the radio advertising. Between this group and the seven percent at the opposite extreme who wanted all advertising removed, were 26 percent who said they didn't like commercials but "could put up with them," and 41 percent "who didn't particularly mind." (Three percent had no opinion.) All in all, this didn't seem to add up to very vigorous public enthusiasm for the sponsor's few words.

Recalling that earlier experience—there were others in the report like it—I scanned the new version for acrobatics. One was easy to spot.

In the new survey, we are assured that the respondents voted "on the side of self-regulation by industry and against government regulation." Several tables back up that conclusion.

Obviously, the purpose here is to bolster the NAB's perpetual fight against any kind of control by the Federal Communications Commission. But it was interesting to note how the case was built by Dr. Lazarsfeld and the poll takers. A number of industries were listed in the following order: banks, food stores, coal mines, radio stations, newspapers, gas and electric companies. The respondent was then asked whether it would be better for the people of this country if each of the industries named were *run* by the government instead of by private business.

Who has ever suggested that banks or grocery stores—or radio—should be nationalized? It is surprising that only 55 percent of those questioned thought that private business should continue running the banks, and that only 76 percent voted to keep government out of competition with the A&P. The NAB and Dr. Lazarsfeld got what they wanted: only nine percent voted in favor of having the radio operated by the government. This opinion they then rephrased as popular opposition to government *regulation* of the air—a very different suggestion. If Morgan should be looking for a juggler to bolster his variety show, Lazarsfeld is his man.

SAUL CARSON

THEATER: Bergner

THE TEN BEST performances of the season are—or should I say is?—given by Elisabeth Bergner in "The Cup of Trembling," a new play by Louis Paul.

To dwell on the play's faults would be like complaining that a fire had been a dull spectacle because the firemen and the inhabitants of the burning house expressed themselves in clichés. It is a mistake to watch "The Cup of Trembling" with one's ears.

Of course it is a poor play if we think of it in terms of written words. In a sense, it is hardly a play at all—only an incompletely reported and unimaginatively related case history. It tells of a lady neurotically addicted to drink in a manner that leads one to believe that its author had little more in view than to sell us on the therapeutic virtues of psychoanalysis and Alcoholics Anonymous. Conceived in this vein, no play is possible; the characters involved are not treated as people but as items in a medical chart.

But a play is something other than an illustrated text. It is an entertainment that takes place on a stage where interest may be generated and meaning created by a combination of factors no one of which entirely conveys the effect of the whole. It is true that in many plays our interest derives chiefly from the story told and the words spoken, but in others the value comes from an entirely non-literary source.

Watching Bergner in "The Cup of Trembling" I felt I was in a theater, and did not at all regret it. This has not been the case on other occasions when reputable texts were presented by performers whose connection with the art of acting seemed to be largely a matter of hearsay. Bergner is an *actress*. The fact that I might wish this actress

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to come before us under more rewarding circumstances does not diminish my appreciation of her talent.

Because Miss Bergner is an actress —not a megaphone for dialogue—she can be criticized as well as admired. Some people find her irritating. That is because she is somebody and does something. We very rarely think of attacking a story in the *Saturday Evening Post*, but artists like Dreiser, Sherwood Anderson and Henry James are frequent targets. I defy anyone to utter one cogent word of criticism of most of Hollywood's leading ladies.

Bergner is incessant. A fault? No doubt. But she is incessantly interesting. She is interesting not simply as a "personality"—someone we might find charming if we were lucky enough to meet her socially—she is interesting by what she asks you to observe in each scene. Take the moment in which she listens to a friend who urges her to believe in the possibility of a cure. Bergner's concentration, which always rivets the spectator's attention on her, becomes in this scene a moment of intense drama because we see her thoughts—her skepticism, her impatience, her desire to believe, her defiance of false hope, her consideration, her shrewd humor within the orbit of her misery. As she plays it, the scene is as eloquent and gripping as pages of fine writing might be.

The essence of Bergner's technique is the capacity to make every moment she is on the stage dramatic and significant. She makes everything she does theatrically expressive. Every change in tempo, in vocal volume, in physical impulse is the graph of a subtle personal narrative which we see constantly evolving with a basic logic that the lines themselves may not possess.

I cannot evaluate the full measure of Bergner's talent because I was not fortunate enough to see her abroad in any of her famous roles. Nevertheless I venture to say that her art tends to confine our attention to the thing she is doing at each moment. We are satisfied that what we see is being done as completely as possible, but we become aware a little later that there is a whole

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dimension of experience that she does not reach. She does not evoke the universal from the particular. When she suggests the pain and bewilderment of her situation in "The Cup of Trembling" she does it more convincingly than almost any other actress might do it, but she does not quite give us a sense of something beyond the immediate incident and the individual person involved, a sense of pain and bewilderment as part of that design in life in which we all share.

HAROLD CLURMAN

MOVIES: In Good Faith

IT IS DISCONCERTING when a pair of lovers pause in their embraces to warn each other that heroic measures must be taken to avoid war with Russia; it strains credulity when a presidential candidate parachutes from his campaign plane to win a $5 bet; it becomes downright ridiculous when a member of the Paris Sûreté drags an American black-marketeer to the Palais de Chaillot to lecture him on the social decadence that led to the extinction of the dinosaur. But it won't pay to be captious about such incidents in current films; the picture industry is wrestling manfully with world problems and, like the rest of the world, is making heavy work of it.

In addition to the universal difficulty of not knowing the answers, Hollywood approaches the international crisis with certain special problems of its own. It must avoid offending any considerable section of its audience, which influences it toward a spacious vagueness. It must provide enough entertainment to hold the attention of politically drowsy customers, which inclines it to set its arguments in melodramatic, humorous or ripely romantic frameworks. It must assure itself that the dullest patron understands the lesson, which leads to some sadly pompous dialogue.

It is easy to laugh at the film makers' tardy discovery that atomic fission is dangerous or to become indignant at the expedients they employ to sugar-coat the one-world pill. But what the hell, the rest of us haven't made such a lot of progress for all our superior brains and sophistication.

Two current examples of the great awakening are "State of the Union" and "To the Victor." The first is a humorous-romantic investigation of American machine politics, the second a melodramatic-romantic exposé of European postwar decadence.

"State of the Union" will not be popular with the current presidential candidates or their campaign managers, for it states explicitly that almost all aspirants to public office are the willing dupes of machine politicians and vested interests. As an independent and high-minded White House contestant, Spencer Tracy gets off a couple of speeches about America's world responsibilities and the sanctity of the popular will that moved the audience I was in to applaud the screen.

But against this admirable pamphleteering must be set an ancient, contrived and unlikely plot. Tracy's noble neophyte, Grant Matthews, falls in far too readily with Adolphe Menjou's practical chicanery, and then belatedly regains his purity in a scene of maudlin theatrics. The spectacle of Matthews' infatuation with a power-mad lady boss is unseemly in one of his years and implausible in one so fortunate as to be married to Katharine Hepburn. The movies have a habit of making wives so much more desirable than mistresses that only perverseness or the need for a plot could lead a man into adultery.

"State of the Union" rates high for its insistence on virtue in public office and its reminder that more goes into most political triumphs than the enthusiasm of a free and clear-headed electorate; as an entertainment it is too predictable and too synthetic to be more than fair.

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R. Lisa Laub

"To the Victor" leaves you with some odd bits of the machinery loose in your hands, but moment to moment it is good showmanship. An American left over from the Army of Liberation has settled into a small Paris hotel as a free-lance black-market entrepreneur. There he meets, under circumstances of imminent murder, a beautiful girl (Viveca Lindfors, and she is indeed beautiful) married to the leading traitor of La France. There follow gun play, wild chases, copious drinking, impetuous love and a finale so ingenious that I haven't yet figured out how the hero, Dennis Morgan, accomplished it. Through it all, like the thread of conscience, run comments on the United Nations, postwar disillusion, the survival of fascism, the failures of victory and the need for high moral courage on this eve of the War of Annihilation. I'm certain that Alfred Hitchcock could have tangled the yarn more tightly and unraveled it more neatly, but there is something to be said for the fact that the villains were not international jewel thieves nor the hero a saintly revenue collector.

The British production of "Anna Karenina" is distinguished by the excellent performance of Ralph Richardson as Karenin and by Vivien Leigh's attractive, if not very subtle, interpretation of Anna. Beyond that, what must be said is what must inevitably be said of attempts to reduce novels of the human spirit into some two hours of screen entertainment. You have to cut and squeeze and telescope until you have nothing left but some costumes, some scenery and a plot. In this case the plot is that a highly placed married lady falls in love with a dashing young officer, suffers the social penalty of her rash act and throws herself in despair under a railway engine. Is this the incomparable *Anna Karenina*? Surely it is as likely something called "Broken Passions" or "The Temptation of Eve." And who was that whiskery old fellow who tapped on the carriage wheels and upset Anna so much? Well, he's difficult to explain in a picture—you'd have to read the book to find out.

ROBERT HATCH

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PEACE FOR THE HOLY LAND

An attempt is being made to stampede the United States Government into action in a renewed effort to bring about the partitioning of Palestine. • • The claim is advanced that an overwhelming majority of Americans of all faiths support such action. • • We believe that the claim does not square with the facts; and that the attempt must be resisted. • • It is of course true that numbers of Americans have been persuaded that a Zionist state should be set up as a means of helping the decimated remnants of Europe's Jews whose plight they wish to alleviate. Many are now coming to realize that the conflict in Palestine holds out no such hopes; that, on the contrary, the recent achievements and the ancient heritage of Palestine are now in jeopardy. • • Substantial numbers of Americans, of Christian and Jewish faiths, and numerous organizations, Christian, Jewish and non-sectarian, have been and remain opposed to the division of a land holy to three great universal religions. • • Numerous publications, newspapers and magazines, have expressed their concern about the consequences of partition. • • Many millions of American citizens are unaware of the significance of this issue in terms of our basic national interest and have not expressed themselves at all. • • The articulate, highly organized lobbying of those who, for a variety of partisan reasons, favor the partition of Palestine must not push us into an action that may have the most serious consequences for our national security, our foreign policy, our friendship with the Near East peoples, and the cause of world peace.

We call on all Americans to support the plans of their government for

A truce in Palestine

Reconsideration of the Palestine question by the General Assembly

Reconciliation of the warring peoples to secure a stable and just government for Palestine

We call upon the United States Government to present its proposal for a temporary trusteeship for Palestine as a step toward a democratic state that will retain the unity of the Holy Land.

These plans will promote peace

Because they hold out the only hope of stopping the spread of war;

because they offer the promise of safeguarding the holy places sacred to Jew, Moslem and Christian.

These plans will strengthen the U. N.

Because they face the fact that partition has been shown to be unworkable,

and an attempt to enforce an unworkable plan would injure the United Nations.

Because, while the partition recommendation of the General Assembly has no legal, binding force but was, and could be, only a recommendation, these plans will have a sound legal basis in the Charter, under the Trusteeship provisions.

These plans will promote the welfare of the peoples of all faiths in the Near East

Because they work towards reconciliation instead of war; because they will save from danger not only the Jews of Palestine and their great achievements but also the 800,000 Jews in other Near Eastern States.

Because they will enable the Near East to continue its economic and social development, now jeopardized by conflicts over Palestine.

These plans will promote the interests of the U. S. A.

Because they will further friendly relations between Americans and the peoples of the Near East.

Because they will help preserve access to the economic and strategic resources of this important area.

We further appeal for immediate action by the United States Congress to admit to the U. S. substantial numbers of displaced persons of all faiths as proof of our national sincerity in regard to this problem thereby making more likely the peaceful solution of the Palestine problem.

Finally, we appeal to Americans of all faiths to express themselves on these subjects, not out of sectarian or foreign national interests, but solely and entirely out of their concern for what is best for the United States, for the United Nations and for world recovery and world peace.

The aims of the Committee are to bring peace with justice to the Holy Land; to further the best interests of all Jews, Christians and Moslems in the Near and Middle East; to foster friendly relations among the peoples of these three faiths throughout the world; and to strengthen the United Nations. ¶ We invite inquiries and contributions from all who wish to support this program.

THE COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE IN THE HOLY LAND

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